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Malile To Visit FRG in Mid-September

AU0709100088 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 6 (ATA)—The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Reis Malile will make an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany on September 13-15 at the invitation of the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans Dietrich Genscher, in return to the visit he made to Albania on October 1987.

Vice Minister Addresses FAO on Agriculture

AU2908183688 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 25 Aug 88 p 4

[ATA report on speech by Bilbil Jaupi, vice minister of agriculture, at the 16th FAO Regional Conference in Krakow, Poland, date not given: "Albania Pursues an Independent Agricultural Policy That Aims To Respond Ever More Fully to the People's Increasing Demands"]

[Text] Problems of economic and social development and of securing food continue to claim the center of attention. At a time when science has reached a level that permits the maximum exploitation of natural resources for people's needs, there are many countries that still do not meet their own needs for food products. He went on to point out that certain negative phenomena such as the unselective use of agricultural land, deforestation, damage to flora and fauna, and the general disturbance of the ecological equilibrium, have also become worrying for European countries.

After talking about certain negative factors that exert an influence on agricultural development, such as unjust pricing policies of agricultural and food products, restrictive measures in the transfer of modern technology, and protectionist barriers, the head of the Albanian delegation stated the view that efforts to solve agricultural and food problems in Europe and beyond are indivisible from the efforts of the peoples to attain independent economic and social development in the teeth of the the superpowers' hegemonistic policies and their diktat.

He went on to stress that our country pursues an independent agricultural policy, relying upon its own resources and aiming to respond ever better to the people's increasing demands for agricultural and livestock products and the demands of industry and the export sector. He went on to talk about positive achievements in increasing yields from crops and livestock, strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, and so forth.

Talking about the complex development of forestry, Comrade Bilbil Jaupi pointed out the value of forests both for economic purposes and as a basic element of maintaining ecological balance. He especially dwelt upon problems of environmental pollution in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic as a result of the dumping of chemicals and the unselective use of chemicals in agriculture. He then stressed the need to take effective measures in this area, pointing out that Albania devotes particular attention to environmental protection, as an important factor in preserving the health of the people.

In conclusion, the head of the Albanian delegation expressed appreciation of FAO's efforts to solve agricultural and food problems, and said that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and remains in favor of developing relations with other countries in the agricultural sphere, in environmental protection, in the exploitation of natural resources, fishing, and so forth, as well as of exchanging expertise and technology in these areas, while respecting the familiar principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Czech Citizens Stray Into Albanian Territory

AU0509125288 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 4 (ATA)—On September 3, 1988, four citizens from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic illegally strayed in the state border of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the zone of the mountains Bjeshket e Namuna, coming from Yugoslavia. According to their statements, they were members of a Czechoslovak touristic group and entered the Albanian territory because they had lost their way. After informing the embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Tirana, under its care and of the competent Albanian organs, they returned again to Yugoslavia.

Alia, Carcani Greet SRV Leaders on National Day

AU0109184088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Vietnam; Comrade Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Council of State of the SRV; and Comrade Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV.

The national day of the SRV gives us the pleasure to send you, and through you to the Vietnamese people, the CP of Vietnam, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the SRV, cordial greetings and best wishes in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on our own behalf.

During a 43-year period of labor and struggle, the Vietnamese people have made sacrifices and have overcome many difficulties in rebuilding the country, ravaged by American imperialist aggression, and are now working with self-denial to further the socialist construction of their country. The Albanian people, who are tied to the Vietnamese people in close and sincere friendship, wish them new, even greater successes in the progress of the country and in strengthening the defense of their homeland.

On this occasion, we express the wish that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will constantly develop and grow stronger, to our common benefit and that of the struggle against imperialism.

Trade Union Delegation Leaves for Libya
AU3008185488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] At the invitation of the General Congress of Producers of Libya, a delegation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania headed by Stavri Rista, secretary to this council, has departed for Libya to take part in the commemoration of 1 September, the national day of the Libyan people. The delegation was seen off by Strati Marko, secretary of the Committee of the Trade Unions of Albania, and others.

Cultural Delegation Departs for SFRY
AU0609190688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] A delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, left today for Belgrade.

The delegation will hold talks with the Yugoslav side on signing a program of cultural exchange between our two countries for 1988 - 1989, on the basis of the cultural agreement between Albania and Yugoslavia signed in Tirana (in February).

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Aug - 3 Sep 88

AU0309185088 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 28 August - 3 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses): Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received (Jose Enrice Gama Munoz), chairman of the Mexican - Albanian Friendship Society, in Tirana on 31 August. (1800 GMT 31 August)

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited mining enterprises in Puke District "in recent days," and was informed of local economic performances. (1800 GMT 31 August)

Foto Cami and Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended a seminar on the life and work of the linguist Eqrem Cabej in Tirana on 3 September. (1800 GMT 3 September)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended the inauguration of a new flour mill in the Heroes of Vig Cooperative, Mjede, Shkoder District, on 1 September, (1800 GMT 1 September) and the opening of a new bakery in Shkoder on 3 September. (1800 GMT 3 September)

Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a dramatic reenactment of the liberation of the town of Bajram Curri, Tropoje District, at a ceremony commemorating the anniversary of a local partisan battalion in Bajram Curri, Tropoje District, on 28 August. (1800 GMT 28 August)

Economic Progress Report for 28 Aug - 3 Sep 88
AU0309183888 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 28 August - 3 September carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Six Fier food-processing collectives have exceeded their production plans to 25 August by 25 million leks. (1800 GMT 31 August)

Sarande District completed its 8-month general industrial production plan 5 days early, and expects 7 million leks above-plan production by the end of the month. (1330 GMT 29 September)

The Third District of the City of Tirana has exceeded its 8-month plan by 5 million leks. (1800 GMT 2 September)

Zhivkov Receives New Foreign Ambassadors

Receives Albanian Ambassador

AU0509181888 Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 5 (BTA)—The Bulgarian head of state, Mr Todor Zhivkov, today expressed the Bulgarian people's sincere feelings of respect for the Albanian people.

Accepting the credentials of Mr Bashkim Rama, the newly appointed ambassador of Albania here, the State Council president expressed satisfaction with the activation of bilateral relations as a result of the two countries' joint efforts. Along with that, he called attention to the availability of untapped opportunities for the promotion of reciprocal ties and reaffirmed Bulgaria's readiness in principle for wider cooperation.

Mr Todor Zhivkov discussed the possibilities for Bulgaro-Albanian cooperation in confidence- and security-building in the world and Bulgaria's policy seeking to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, understanding and cooperation. He said that the Belgrade meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries and the subsequent meeting in Sofia of high officials of the Foreign Ministries of the countries in the region have confirmed that there are possibilities and willingness for the promotion of multilateral cooperation.

Mr Bashkim Rama spoke about Albania's preparedness to promote friendly relations with the other states, Bulgaria included, on the basis of mutual benefit. He stressed the respect and the friendly feelings which the Albanian people nourish for the Bulgarian people.

Receives Austrian Ambassador

AU0509182088 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 5 (BTA)—"The relations between Bulgaria and Austria are developing well in all fields and yet the possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation, especially in the spheres of economy, science and technology, are not fully utilized", Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, said today. Accepting the credentials of the newly appointed ambassador of Austria Dr. Manfred Kippach, the Bulgarian head of state also commented on the changes for the better in the political climate of the world brought about as a result of new political thinking and the hopes raised by the first steps along the path of nuclear disarmament. Mr. Todor Zhivkov spoke in favour of an early completion of the Vienna Follow-Up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of its working out a detailed and balanced document. Dr. Manfred Kippach highly appreciated the advancement of the relations between Austria and Bulgaria, pointing out that they may serve as a model of relations between countries of different social systems. The ambassador said that the changes in the international life give ground for optimism and that Austria hopes the upsurge in international cooperation will positively influence the meeting in Vienna. "Bulgaria's increasing participation in the Helsinki process and especially her intention to establish formal relations with the E.C. has been met much interest in Austria", said Dr. Manfred Kippach.

Receives Argentine Ambassador

AU0509182188 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 5 Sep 88

["For Promotion of Bulgaro-Argentinian Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 5 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, today spoke about this country's readiness to persevere in promoting her relations with Argentina in the political, economic, techno-scientific and cultural spheres.

Accepting the letters of credence of the newly appointed ambassador of Argentina, Mr Raul Medina Munoz, the Bulgarian head of state stressed the existence of possibilities for the promotion of bilateral cooperation and the need to take advantage of the favourable international situation to strengthen bilateral relations.

Mr Todor Zhivkov commended highly Argentina's contribution to the struggle for the maintenance of world peace and security and that country's active stance in the process of settling the conflicts in Central America.

Ambassador Raul Medina Munoz noted the activation of the two countries' ties over the last few years and the desire to improve bilateral relations. He discussed the efforts of Argentina and Bulgaria towards the consolidation of international peace and security.

Zhivkov Greets Al-Qadhdhafi on Revolution Day

AU0209172888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent a telegram to Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, conveying most cordial greetings on the occasion of the country's National Day, the 19th anniversary of the victory of the 1 September Revolution.

The telegram expresses confidence in the further ascending development of the relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries. These friendly relations are developing and intensifying in the interest of our peoples and of the common struggle

against imperialism, Zionism, and neocolonialism, and are contributing to strengthening and expanding trust, understanding, and cooperation in the world and to preserving peace.

Prospects for CEMA-EEC Joint Firms Viewed

AU0709134088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 88 p 4

[Article by Lyubomir Parushev: "Promising Form of Cooperation"]

[Text] The eighties mark an important stage in the development of joint enterprises with Western partners on the territories of socialist countries. All the current normative documents for regulating the setting up and functioning of these enterprises have been issued since 1979 (except for the decrees in the SR of Romania). In the period since 1984 new laws have been issued in five countries, while additional instructions or amendments to the existing legislation have been published in three countries. On 13 January 1987 the Soviet Union became the eighth CEMA member country (after Romania, Poland, Hungary, Vietnam, Bulgaria, Cuba, and the CSSR) to adopt a law on joint enterprises, and similar laws are in force in Yugoslavia, China and the DPRK. By 1 April 1988 more than 3,760 joint enterprises were registered in these 11 socialist countries. Within the CEMA countries, over 200 joint enterprises are in operation, dozens of others are at the final stage of being founded, and the organs empowered to issue permits are examining hundreds of proposals from both socialist organizations and Western firms. In 1987 alone the number of joint enterprises in the CEMA member countries rose by 103, two-thirds of which were founded in Hungary. The distribution of joint enterprises by countries is as follows: Hungary, 137; USSR, 27; PPR, 16; Bulgaria, 12; CSSR, 6, Romania, 5; Cuba, 2; and the SRV, 2. The total amount of foreign investments in joint enterprises on the territory of the CEMA member countries is assessed at about $4 billion. A total of 20 nonsocialist countries are participating in these enterprises. Apart from the EEC, these also include Japan, India, Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Panama, as well as the International Finance Corporation. The largest numbers of companies participating in joint enterprises in the socialist countries are from the FRG (36), Austria (30), Switzerland (15), Japan (14), and the United States (14).

The governments of the socialist countries are making efforts to establish a favorable economic and legal climate for joint enterprises. Bilateral agreements are being concluded for stimulating and protecting investments and avoiding double taxation, and special banks and other organizations are being set up to promote the development of joint enterprises. The geographical proximity and the historically established links between the European capitalist and socialist states provide a favorable basis for the more active development of joint enterprises in this region. At a press conference in Moscow, CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sizov emphasized that the CEMA and EEC leaderships regard joint East-West enterprises as a particularly promising form of cooperation between partners from the two most important economic communities in the world. There is no doubt that the agreed joint declaration signed in Moscow will provide a powerful stimulus for joint business activity, as will the progress in the negotiations to establish contractual trade and economic relations between the EEC and individual CEMA member countries. Business circles in Japan and the United States are also showing some interest in this direction.

Within the CEMA member countries joint production enterprises are in the majority, but the numbers of joint enterprises are also growing in the tourism, services, and research and development fields. Joint enterprises have also been set up in banking.

The general trends in the process of improving the legal regulations in the socialist countries regarding joint enterprises are as follows: expansion of the sphere of action of joint enterprises in the branch and territorial aspects; creation of "special zones," "free trade zones," "duty-free zones," and so on that provide more favorable conditions for the operation of joint enterprises; creation of opportunities for the foreign partner to take a share of above 49 percent in a joint enterprise; extension of the period of operation of joint companies (up to 40-50 years in certain cases); the offer of reliable state and bank guarantees for foreign investments and for the profits of the foreign partner (including through international agreements); encouragement of investments in industry sectors with a high scientific content or which are of strategic importance technologically; and requiring the foreign partner to participate in vanguard, highly productive, and waste-free technologies.

Balev, Delegation Visit Latin American Nations

Departs Brazil for Argentina

AU2908141388 Sofia BTA in English 1349 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Brasilia, August 29 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, who are in Brazil at the invitation of the Federal Senate, visited the State of Amazonas. In the state capital, Manaus, the delegation conferred with Mr Vivaldo Frota, acting governor of Amazonas, with Mr Valmeir Robert, president of the State Court, with Mr Ozirio Silva, secretary for industry and trade, and with the management of the local free trade and industry zone. They discussed the possibilities for trade and economic cooperation between Bulgarian economic organizations and companies based in Manaus, which is one of the most technologically advanced centres of Latin America.

Mr Milko Balev paid a visit to Mr Attila Lins, speaker of the state legislature, and addressed a special session of the legislature.

Today the delegation left for Buenos Aires.

Meetings in Buenos Aires

AU3008191888 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Buenos Aires, August 30 (BTA)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation headed by Mr. Milko Balev, member of the State Council and chairman of the Foreign Policy Standing Committee of the Bulgarian National Assembly, arrived to Argentina on an official visit at the invitation of Mr. Juan Carlos Pugliese, chairman of the House of Representatives of the Argentinian Parliament.

Today the Bulgarian delegation was received by Mr. Victor Martinez, vice president of Argentina and chairman of the Senate. The meeting discussed the possibilities and prospects for the further development of the relations between the two countries in different spheres. The two sides observed a coincidence or similarity in the stands of Bulgaria and Argentina on a wide range of international issues—peace and disarmament, regional conflicts, the establishment of a new international economic order and on other issues of mutual interest.

The Bulgarian delegation also met Mr. Juan Carlos Pugliese. The talks stressed the great importance of parliamentary contacts in the promotion of bilateral relations in the political, economic, techno-scientific, cultural and humanitarian spheres.

They expressed satisfaction over the development of the relations and noted that the profound restructuring under way in Bulgaria and the deepening and strengthening of the democratic process in Argentina are creating more favourable prospects for their further promotion in the interest of the two friendly countries and in the interest of peace and cooperation.

Alfonsin Receives Delegation

AU0409155788 Sofia BTA in English 2032 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Buenos Aires, September 2 (BTA)—At the end of their official visit to Argentina yesterday, the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the state council and Chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, were received by Mr Raul Alfonsin, president of Argentina.

Mr Raul Alfonsin commended highly the processes of restructuring and renewal under way in the U.S.S.R, Bulgaria and other socialist countries and expressed the confidence that they will be important not only for the socialist countries but for the entire world as well, for the promotion of state-to-state cooperation and understanding.

Bulgaria and Argentina expressed their support for the actively progressing dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, which helps new political thinking, peace and cooperation gain ground in the world. It was emphasized that as a result of this, realistic opportunities open up for the settlement of a number of regional conflicts.

An emphasis was laid on the identity or closeness of the two countries' views on the key international issues.

Mr Raul Alfonsin praised Bulgaria's contribution to the strengthening of peace, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans and in Europe.

It was emphasized that the process of deep-going reform in Bulgaria and the consolidation of the democratic process in Argentina create new, more favourable conditions for an overall promotion of bilateral cooperation.

Hold Talks in Uruguay

AU0209201588 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Montevideo, September 2 (BTA)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, arrived on an official visit to Uruguay at the invitation of the General Assembly, or parliament, of that country. The Bulgarian M.P.'s conferred with Mr Enrique E. Tarigo, vice president of Uruguay and president of the Senate and of the General Assembly, and with Mr Ernesto Amorin Larianiaga, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies.

In an informal and friendly atmosphere, the sides considered the state of bilateral relations and some international matters of bilateral concern. They noted with satisfaction the closeness and similarity of the two countries' views on the key international issues and above all on the problems of peace and disarmament.

Measures to activate parliamentary contacts and the overall Bulgaro-Uruguayan relations in the political, economic, techno-scientific and cultural fields were also discussed.

More on Uruguay Meetings

AU0509200088 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Montevideo, September 5 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, continue their visit to Uruguay.

At the talks between Mr Milko Balev and Mr Luis Barrios Tassano, minister of foreign affairs of Uruguay, the sides assessed in positive terms the promotion of bilateral relations over the last few years. They emphasized that the expansion and promotion of these ties will be in the best interests of the two peoples and will benefit peace and cooperation in the world.

The Bulgarian M.P.s conferred with the members of the Foreign Policy Committees of the two chambers of the Uruguayan Parliament. In response to the interest shown by the hosts, Mr Milko Balev told them about the essence, the basic principles and areas of restructuring of Bulgaria's socio-economic and political life. He also discussed Bulgaria's foreign policy and laid particular emphasis on her efforts towards turning the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, into an area of cooperaion and goodneighbourliness in the spirit of new political thinking. The sides stressed the role of parliamentary contacts for the overall progress of bilateral relations.

Mr Milko Balev also met with Mr Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay (P.C.U.). They briefed each other on the work of the BCP and the P.C.U. and considered some pressing issues of the international communist movement.

Delegation Visits Peru

AU0809094188 Sofia BTA in English 0722 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Lima, September 8 (BTA)—A delegation of the BCP, led by Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, member of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, arrived on an official visit here on Tuesday at the invitation of the ruling Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) Party and of the Peruvian Government.

Mr Milko Balev conferred with Mr Hector Vargas Haya, president of the National Congress and of the Chamber of Deputies, and with Mr Romualdo Biaggi, president of the Senate. In a friendly atmosphere, the sides stressed the importance of the contacts between senior political figures for the promotion of relations between Bulgaria and Peru.

The Peruvian officials showed interest in the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and in the new foreign policy line of the socialist countries, and more specifically in Bulgaria's Balkan policy.

Mr Milko Balev stressed Peru's constructive role in international relations and that country's contribution to the pursuit of a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and its active work in the Lima support group, as well as Peru's share in the efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America.

Mr Milko Balev also met with Mr Jorge Losada, chairman of the Senate External Relations Committee, and with members of the Chamber of Deputies External Relations Committee.

Peruvian Envoy Visits; Trade Agreement Signed

AU3008062188 Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 29 Aug 88

["Bulgaria, Peru Activate Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, today received Mr Enrique Cornejo, minister of state and president of the Institute of Foreign Trade of Peru.

The Peruvian guest conveyed a verbal message from Mr Alan Garcia, president of Peru, to Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, extending most sincere wishes for success and prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

The sides discussed the promotion of political and economic contacts between Bulgaria and Peru and the upgrading of cooperation to a higher level. It was emphasized that political detente in the world creates favourable conditions for an advancement of the dialogue between the East and the West and between states of different social systems, including an expansion of the relations between Bulgaria and Peru.

The signing of three documents brought to a close the two-day visit which Mr Enrique Cornejo paid here.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, signed a protocol on the talks, an agreement on balanced commercial exchanges and a protocol on the study of possibilities for coffee purchases from Peru.

Bulgaria will be exporting to Peru machines and equipment, electronic and electrical engineering products, telecommunication and telephone equipment, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and will be importing mainly food and light industry products.

Peru is interested in cooperation with this country in agriculture and in the construction of irrigation systems and in Bulgaria's participation in joint cultivation of cocoa.

Venezuela's Lusinchi Receives Dimitrov

AU0409155388 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Caracas, September 2 (BTA)—Mr Jaime Lusinchi, president of Venezuela, received Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (B.Z.N.S.), who is visiting here at the invitation of the ruling Democratic Action (A.D.) Party. In a friendly atmosphere, the two considered questions

of mutual concern. Mr Jaime Lusinchi commended highly the contribution of the two friendly parties to the promotion of cooperation between Venezuela and Bulgaria.

Trade Union Delegation Departs for PRC

AU0709151588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] At the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions a delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions led by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, departed on 7 September for the PRC where it will pay an official visit.

Deputy Premier Stoichkov Returns From Nigeria

AU0409181988 Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Nigerian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, returned from a visit to Nigeria today.

During the visit the sides surveyed the economic and techno-scientific relations between Bulgaria and Nigeria and mapped out further steps for their future promotion.

Mozambique Security Minister Ends Visit

AU0609120288 Sofia BTA in English 1104 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 6 (BTA)—Mr Mariano de Arauju Matsinhe, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Frelimo Party, secretary of the Party Control Committee and minister of the national people's security service of Mozambique, left the country today after a visit at the invitation of Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of internal affairs of Bulgaria.

The Mozambiquean guest head meetings with high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at which the sides exchanged experience and considered questions concerning the strengthening and promotion of cooperation between the two ministries.

Peace Rally With Greek, SFRY Participation

AU0109180788 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 31 Aug 88

["Trade Union Action for Peace"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 1 (BTA)—The international day of peace and trade union action for peace was marked today with an all-city meeting. The meeting was attended by distinguished workers of the trade unions in Bulgaria, and representatives of the Yugoslavian trade unions and the General Confederation of Greek Workers. Mr. Kosta Andreev, secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, addressed the meeting.

In his address Mr. Andreev emphasized that there are no stauncher fighters for peace than the working class and the working people. Their strong will and their solidarity will will continue to determine the development and the success of the anti-military movement.

He went on by pointing out the trade unions' great capability to create an atmosphere of confidence. Mr. Kosta Andreev said that the positive changes in trade union life in the Balkans prove it. After the meeting of the Balkan countries' trade union leaders held in Belgrade in July, now an all-Balkan trade union program for action is being worked out by mutual agreement. Its purpose is to turn the Balkans into an area free of nuclear and chemical weapons, to secure ecological protection of the peninsula, to promote economic, scientific and technological cooperation and trade, as well as cultural exchange.

Krustyu Rakovski Anniversary Marked

AU0609175788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] The 115th anniversary of the birth of Krustyu Rakovski, a remarkable scientist, journalist, and revolutionary and noted figure of the Bulgarian and international socialist and communist movement, was marked by a public meeting which took place in Sofia on 6 September. The meeting was attended by Comrades Yordan Yotov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Vasil Tsanov, public figures, and relatives of the noted Bulgarian.

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke about Krustyu Rakovski's life and activity. He stressed that historical justice, which has triumphed, returned the name and cause of Krustyu Rakovski to the BCP, CPSU, and the international communist and workers' movement.

U.S. Official Rowny Meets Army Gen Brychta

LD0709165188 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—Special U.S. presidential adviser for questions of disarmament Edward L. Lowny met here today with First Deputy Chief of the Czechoslovak Army General Staff Lieutenant-General Jiri Brychta.

The two officials exchanged views on the military and political aspects of disarmament talks, in particular the talks on halving strategic offensive weapons and possible talks on conventional forces and armament of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

They discussed the miliary part of the Czechoslovak proposal for establishing a zone of confidence and cooperation along the line dividing Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

Rowny Meets With Journalists

LD0709210488 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—The presidential campaign in the USA and the forthcoming change in the White House do not influence the pace of the Geneva Soviet-American discussions on strategic and space weapons, U.S. special presidential adviser Edward Rowny told journalists before departure here today.

Edward Rowny paid a three-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

The USA is interested in the conclusion of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, he said, adding that the treaty is not expected to be concluded during the mandate of President Reagan, i.e. till the end of January.

The USA considers the INF a success and will strive for a reduction of the strategic and conventional weapons, he said. Dealing with the space armament, Edward Rowny defended the absurd idea of the U.S. Government that the Strategic Defence Initiative program (SDI) is not in contrast with the disarmament efforts. He repeated the U.S. allegations that the Soviet Union violates the 1972 ABM Treaty and rejected the Soviet Union's demand for its original interpretation. According to Rowny the USA does not violate it.

Dealing with the Czechoslovak initiative proposing a zone of cooperation along the Warsaw Treaty and NATO borderline the U.S. presidential adviser stressed that it is a good idea from a country with a strategic position because it is aimed at higher security in the fuure, and added that this item can be discussed on the level of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

Observers To Attend Military Exercises in FRG

LD0709181288 Prague CTk in English 1605 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak observers will participate on September 8-13, 1988 in military exercises of West German, American, French and Canadian troops in FRG code-named Landesverteidigung.

The exercises are held in September 2 to 13.

The Czechoslovak observers will participate in the manoeuvres in harmony with the Stockholm Conference document on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmanent in Europe.

4,000 Protest Sentencing of Activist Polansky

LD0709163988 Vatican City International Service in German 1400 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Prague—Four thousand Slovak Catholics yesterday protested in a letter to Czechoslovak head of state Gustav Husak against the sentencing of Catholic activist Ivan Polansky to 4 years in prison. This is the longest sentence ever announced for religious activity. The court's decision demonstrated a traditionalist way of thinking and has hindered perestroyka. The 52-year-old Polansky has organized religious activities for 4 years. These activities are being portrayed as political actions against the state.

Daily Reports USSR Churbanov Corruption Trial

AU0709134488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 p 7

[Unsigned Moscow dispatch: "Soviet Union: Y. Churbanov on Trial"]

[Text] Moscow (from our correspondent)—Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy of the USSR Interior Ministry, must, since Monday [5 September], give an account of his deeds before the Military Cases Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. He has been charged with accepting bribes and abusing his official rank.

A total of eight former leading officials of the Interior Ministry of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] have been brought to trial with him on the same charges: Kh. Yakhyayev (former minister), T. Kahramanov and P. Begelman (his deputies), S. Sabirov, Kh. Norbutayev, D. Dzhamalov, M. Norov, and Y. Makhamadzhanov. Bribes of more than R600,000 are involved in the case of the chief defendant, according to TASS.

The trial is presided over by Major General Mikhail Marov, deputy chairman of the Military Cases Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. The indictment is more than 500 pages long. The trial is expected to last several months with approximately 200 witnesses being heard.

A few days ago (30 August), PRAVDA reported on the Y. Churbanov case in the article "The Son-in-Law and His Godfathers." The Soviet paper made it clear that in committing his criminal offenses, the former first USSR deputy interior minister and husband of G.L. Brezhneva took advantage of his family ties with the former general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Cases of bribery and violations of socialist legality in Uzbekistan were discussed as early as the 27th CPSU Congress. It was stressed at the congress that strict conclusions would be drawn from these and other cases, and that there must not be any organizations, either in the party or in the state administration, that are not subject to control. Neither must there be officials who are not accountable for their deeds, no matter what position they occupy. The trial that has just opened in Moscow is proof of this high-principled policy.

Husak Sends Greetings to Jaruzelski, Gromyko
AU0609120588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK and "ZR"-signed report]

[Text] Warsaw—While flying over the PPR's territory on Thursday [1 September], Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the CSSR, sent a telegram of greetings to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. This telegram states:

Esteemed Comrade; while flying over the territory of the fraternal PPR, I am sending you, and through you all the Polish people, cordial comradely greetings. We sincerely hope that the traditional friendship and cooperation will continue developing for the benefit of the people of our countries, and of peace and progress.

Moscow—While flying over the territory of the USSR the same day, Gustav Husak also sent a telegram to Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This telegram states:

Esteemed Comrade Gromyko; while flying over the territory of the USSR, I am sending you, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet people cordial greetings together with wishes for complete success in realizing the restructuring of Soviet society.

We in Czechoslovakia will expend all our energy to further deepen friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries, in which we see the guarantee of our fatherland's successful and peaceful development.

Daily on Husak, Deng Xiaoping Meeting in PRC
AU0709114088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 p 1

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Vladimir Divis and Milan Jelinek and CTK: "Meeting of Comrades Husak and Deng; 3d Day of CSSR President's Visit to China"]

[Excerpt] Beijing—The meeting of Comrade Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the CSSR, with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, undoubtedly was the dominant event of the 3d day of his visit to the PRC. This 84-year-old politician is the most influential figure of present-day China. He is often referred to as the "architect" of Chinese reforms, which began almost 10 years ago.

In the course of a cordial, comradely discussion, Comrade Deng Xiaoping first provided information about the current tasks being tackled by Chinese Communists and characterized the immediate and longer-term objectives of the extensive reform and restructuring of life in the PRC, which were given a fresh and strong boost by last year's 13th CPC Congress. He spoke at length about the experiences of other socialist countries and the usefulness and advantages of exchanging experiences and results from reforms taking place in individual countries.

In this connection, he mentioned the urgency of the task of continuously rejuvenating leadership cadres in party organizations at all levels. However, at the same time it is necessary to make use of all historical experiences from the party's revolutionary struggles and to draw lessons not only from successes but also from errors, Comrade Deng further emphasized.

Deng Xiaoping also mentioned Mao Zedong. He declared that Mao's name cannot be crossed out of the party's history. Many of its successes and victorious struggles in the years 1921 to 1956 are closely associated with his personality. However, as has been noted on many previous occasions, in his last 20 years he made a number of mistakes. The largest of these was the ultra left-wing deviation that ultimately led to the so-called Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Furthermore, Comrade Deng said he identified with the view that two-thirds of Mao's life can be assessed positively and one-third negatively.

He then dealt with Czechoslovak-Chinese relations, which he described as very good. At the same time, however, he emphasized the need to further maintain and develop them in all spheres of life.

During the discussion, Comrade Husak briefed Deng Xiaoping on the course of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and its current tasks, which were laid down by the

Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. He mentioned the successes that have been achieved, but also discussed the problems that accompany this complex development and that must be effectively tackled. [passage omitted]

Comparison of Report on Jakes-Ogarkov Meeting

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 September on page 1 carries a 100-word CTK report on the reception of Ogarkov, marshal of the Soviet Union, and Soviet Army General Stanislav Postnikov by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in Prague on 1 September. The CTK report, entitled "Reception of Soviet Army Representatives," has been compared with the CTK English version published in the Czechoslovakia section of the 2 September East Europe DAILY REPORT, page !, column one, revealing the following variations: Paragraph one, last sentence to paragraph two, first sentence reads in RUDE PRAVO: ...General Stanislav Postnikov. [new paragraph]

In a comradely, friendly talk they discussed questions... (adding description of atmosphere of meeting)

Press Views State of Hungarian-Romanian Ties

AU0209185188 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 31 August both carry articles on the latest developments in relations between Romania and Hungary.

RUDE PRAVO on 31 August on page 7 carries material totaling 1,600 words entitled "On Romanian-Hungarian Relations." The material consists of a 300-word unattributed introductory passage, a 600-word Budapest dispatch by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Gejza Vilcek, and a 700-word Bucharest Dispatch by CTK correspondent Jaroslava Kohoutova.

In its introductory passage, RUDE PRAVO welcomes the recent meeting between the RCP and MSZMP secretaries general in Arad, Romania. It says: "We in Czechoslovakia, close friends of the people of both countries, followed the meeting with great attention and have received with pleasure one of its basic conclusions—the fact that both negotiating sides are determined to do everything possible to improve mutual relations. We also appreciate the fact that the two sides have adopted a mechanism for resolving existing problems and that dialogue has begun, a dialogue that proceeds from respect for the views and interests of each side and from an endeavor to strive for mutual understanding between two neighboring socialist countries. Such an approach can only be welcomed. We wish the people of the two countries that the principles declared in the conclusions of the Arad talks will take shape in the form of corresponding measures in the practical policy of both countries."

This introduction is followed by Gejza Vilcek's 600-word review of Hungarian media coverage of recent developments in relations between the two neighboring states. Vilcek reports on Hungarian criticism of the "artificial restriction of the national life of the Hungarian minority" in Romania and quotes Hungarian media on cases of members of the Hungarian intelligentsia having been transferred to purely Romanian areas and on "pressure to enroll children in Romanian schools." He also notes that the Hungarian press "has commented very sharply" on the Romanian "plan of territorial changes, under which 7,000 to 8,000 villages are to be gradually liquidated." Vilcek then cites MSZMP Secretary Szuros' speech of 20 August on this subject, in which he referred to the "threatened existence" of Hungarians in Transylvania. In conclusion, Vilcek reviews Hungarian media reaction to the Arad meeting. He cites, inter alia, a MAGYAR HIRLAP article which discusses "the danger of Hungarian (but also non-Hungarian) villages being liquidated," about the existence of a "refugee problem," and about the "discrimination" against the Hungarian minority in Romania.

The subsequent Kohoutova dispatch conveys the Romanian view of the problem. Kohoutova says that "in the opinion of the Romanian side, relations between Romania and Hungary are harmed by Hungarian policy, which allows articles and whole works to be published in Hungary that, according to Romania, sully the Romanian reality and the results of its socialist construction." She reports that a number of Romanian publications have recently "accused Hungary of distorting historical truth, falsifying Romanian history, and denying 'Romania's eternal right to Transylvania'," accusations that have culminated in charges of "revisionist, revanchist, and chauvinist theses" leveled against Hungary. According to Kohoutova, the "highest Romanian leadership" regards the solution of the national question in Romania as "exemplary and final" and the attempts "to create a problem of the Hungarian minority in Romania" as "artificial." She adds, however, that "a number of measures have been adopted [in Romania] in recent years which have contributed to creating tension between the minorities and the state and, this year, also to a wave of emigration to Hungary. These include, among others, restricting tuition in the languages of ethnic minorities; reduced print runs of textbooks, books, and journals; a ban on the use of Hungarian names of villages and cities in the press, etc."

Kohoutova concludes her dispatch with an extensive quote from a SCINTEIA commentary on the Ceausescu-Grosz meeting.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 31 August on page 5 carries a 1,300-word article by Ivo Bartik entitled "The Largest Minority in Europe." The article reviews the history of Transylvania, including the latest developments in Romanian-Hungarian relations. Bartik notes that the Hungarians in Romania constitute the "largest ethnic minority in Europe," one, moreover, that "has no

form of autonomy." He mentions that the autonomous region of "Mures Magyar" ceased to exist in 1967 and that Romanian is now the language of instruction in the "traditionally Hungarian university" in Cluj. Bartik also reports that "especially in recent years" there have been "severe disputes" between Hungarian and Romanian scientists concerning the history of Transylvania and notes that Nicolae Ceausescu has accused a three-volume Hungarian history of Transylvania of "reviving fascist, chauvinistic, and even racist ideas."

Bartik goes on to say that the situation in relations between the two countries has "come to a head" in connection with the Romanian plan "to abolish about 8,000 villages," which has "caused a great uproar especially in Hungary and the FRG, where it is being pointed out that it is precisely in these small villages that the culture of ethnic minorities lives and thrives, a culture which the relocation to prefabricated blocks of apartments would, in fact, liquidate. Matters have gone so far," Bartik continues, "that about 10,000 ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania are now illegally in Hungary, and demonstrations were staged in Budapest to protest the planned territorial systemization."

Although Bartik welcomes the "very fact that one has started to negotiate on the problematic issues" in Romanian-Hungarian relations, he notes that "[the] Arad [meeting] can hardly be regarded as the beginning of a new era" in these relations, because "on a number of issues the stands of the two sides have not moved any closer to one another."

Official for Ethnic Hungarians Interviewed

AU0509135788 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 September on page 3 carries a 1,300-word interview with Ladislav Varga, secretary of the Dunajska Streda District organization of Csemadok, the cultural union of ethnic Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, by Frantisek Buda, entitled "Common Homeland, Common Goals." The date and place of the interview, which concerns Csemadok's cultural activities in Dunajska Streda District (the district with the largest proportion of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia), are not given.

In one of his replies, Varga responds to "Western media reports about the alleged discrimination against the Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia." He says: "This is nonsense; it is a fairy tale which our people do not believe, and cannot believe. Just take a look at how people from Zitny Island [southern part of Slovakia, inhabited by ethnic Hungarians] live in Socialist Czechoslovakia, at the appearance of our children, houses, villages, and towns! What we have here now cannot be compared with what was here before liberation. We have our own system of national schools, our press, books, and radio and television broadcasts in the Hungarian language. And, as for culture, Csemadok has found its firm and irreplaceable place in the life of our ethnic minority. It will depend primarily on us how we shall make use of the opportunities offered us."

In another part of the interview, however, Varga concedes the existence of "problems" in Csemadok's work. He notes that amateur theater ensembles suffer from a shortage of new drama texts because "imports of plays from Hungary have come to a deadlock" and suggests that "procedures in exchanging cultural values with the Hungarian People's Republic should be far more flexible, because in many instances the difficulties are not of a financial but rather an administrative nature." Similarly, Varga also calls for "greater flexibility in sending directors and choreographers to training courses in Hungary" to offset Csemadok's shortage of qualified artistic staff.

Jakes, Hoffmann on South Bohemian Working Visit

LD0609170888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, together with Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in the South Bohemian region today for a working visit. His first stop was at the Land the Provider exhibition, from which our correspondent, Lubos Lidicky, reports:

[Begin Lidicky recording] Comrade Jakes and Hoffmann were welcomed within the compound of the exhibition by Miroslav Slavik, chief secretary of the South Bohemian regional party organization; Ondrej Vanek, Czech minister of agriculture and food; and other officials from the South Bohemian capital city of Ceske Budejovice and the region. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes' first steps took him to the pavilion housing the Institute of Education and Training of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. [passage omitted] Outside, Milos Jakes viewed with interest, among other things, the exhibit of the unified agricultural cooperative of Hustopece. Hero of Socialist Labor Bohumul Henich showed the distinguished guest a revolving plow manufactured by the cooperative together with the Klement Gottwald Vitkovice Metallurgical Works in Ostrava. [passage omitted] The guests showed a great deal of interest in stands on the dairy and meat industries as well as on the frozen food sector. [passage omitted]

The visitors also paid a visit to the stand housing companies from upper Austria which came to offer cooperation in manufacturing agricultural and food processing machines. In the afternoon Comrade Jakes will pay a visit to the Otavan works at Trebon to acquaint himself with the production program of this enterprise and to hold a discussion with the employees. [end recording]

Jakes Discusses Restructuring

LD0709134688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Summary] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, together with Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, visited the South Bohemian region today. [Correspondents] Lubos Lidicky and Roman Zamboch report:

[Correspondent] Comrades Jakes and Hoffmann were welcomed on the premises of the Land the Provider exhibition by Miroslav Slavik, chief secretary of the South Bohemian regional party organization, and Ondrej Vanek, Czech minister of agriculture and food. Comrade Jakes and his entourage first visited the pavilion of the Institute of Education where the Advanced School of Agriculture has a display. He then left Ceske Budejovice for Trebon where he first visited the Otavan national enterprise. He viewed the production of men's and boy's ready-made clothing and met the enterprise's workers at a brief meeting. Among other things, he said:

[Begin Jakes recording] "We saw your products just now. Their range is wide, and I think there is interest in them. This pleasantly surprised me—maybe it did not surprise me after all, but it was pleasant to hear that you are working in a well-considered manner, that you follow such basic directives as lowering material expenditure and increasing the quality of products, as well as making innovations in the range of products you offer. This is important because without innovations in products, without lowering material expenditure or increasing quality, one cannot fulfill the demanding tasks which we set for ourselves at the 17th congress. If we maintain living standards—I mean their rates of growth—we shall not have enough for investment. I would say that this is a logical equation, because wages are developing as if the national income were being fulfilled and the material consumption of material is developing just as, or even less, favorably. It is as though the national income was being fulfilled. But it is not being met—there are shortfalls. And that is the basic problem which we are facing, which we ourselves can influence.

"There are other more serious problems which we cannot influence so quickly: the restructuring of the national economy. We must embark on this, whether we want to or not. Restructuring means reducing the range [of products], particularly in engineering, and focusing on ranges which do not require much finished material, raw materials, or energy, but which require qualified manpower. This means that in the future we should not produce what we can import from somewhere else much more cheaply.

"To summarize this: Restructuring will touch upon all industries. As for the consumer sector, we look forward to the future, inasmuch as people have good qualifications, so that we can be oriented more and more toward the latest fashions and on products which people in this country and abroad are willing to pay for." [end recording]

[Correspondent] Comrade Milos Jakes and his entourage then visited the waste water purification station and a center of production of biogas in Trebon. Milos Jakes praised the initiative of the station's employees and then visited the experts of the Trebon Microbiological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, where he was interested in learning about further possibilities for using plankton. In the evening Comrade Jakes visited the town national committee at Trebon.

Presidium Meets on Creating New Commissions

LD0209232988 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed at its meeting today the proposal to expand the number of commissions of the party Central Committee, which is based on the comments of lower party bodies. The proposal is in keeping with the statutes of the CPCZ Central Committee according to which party bodies choose their numbers and also candidate members from the ranks of aktivs of commissions which, with their activity, help these bodies to formulate and implement the party's political, economic, and ideological tasks.

The Presidium will recommend to the Central Committee at its next session a proposal to create seven new commissions for international issues, political systems, social policy, science and technology, law, education, and culture and the arts.

The Presidium acknowledged the information about convening the program of the 12th session of the party Central Control and Audit Commission, which will be held 20 September. The commission will discuss the results of ongoing monitoring of how communists, leading officials, and party organizations of the Czech Ministry of Trade and Tourism fulfill the measures adopted on the results of control in 1986, improve the standard of party work, and improve market stability. It will also discuss the results of ongoing monitoring of how communists, senior management, and party bodies of the Czech Ministry of Health and Social Affairs fulfill the measures adopted on the results of control in 1987, improve the standard of party work, and create conditions for satisfactorily supplying the population with medicines and medical supplies.

The Presidium of the party Central Committee decided to convene a consultative meeting of the Presidium with the chief secretaries of the regional party committees and city party committees in Prague and Bratislava. Topical issues of party work will be discussed at this meeting, which will take place on Thursday, 8 September.

The Presidium acknowledged the information about the participation of a delegation of the party Central Committee, headed by its secretary, Comrade Frantisek Hanus, at the 16th session of the United National Independence Party of Zambia.

Reader Criticizes Media's Vague Reporting
AU0209120188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Aug 88 p 5

[Letter from reader Zdenek Cizek in the "Letters to the Editor" column: "Concreteness Above All"; date of letter not given]

[Text] In the RUDE PRAVO editorial on Saturday (20 August) under the headline "One Has To Know Everything," you write about Vladimir Ilich Lenin's idea that the masses should know everything, assess everything, and undertake everything with awareness. This idea can be regarded as one of the pivotal ones when it comes to implementing glasnost and, as you correctly stated, it applies both to the party Central Committee and to a primary organization. Let us ask ourselves: Is this idea always being correctly realized? In my opinion, it is not. The proof of this is the report on the session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium published in the same Saturday edition. What I mean is the following sentence: The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium then assessed some domestic political and international political issues. This does not say—not even concisely—what these assessments pertained to. What does such an information tell the public? My opinion is that it says nothing at all. It is shrouded in mystery, which constitutes fertile soil for various unsubstantiated rumors among the public. It is general information, formal information, and it should not appear in the pages of the party press like this. You are grappling with a shortage of newsprint and here you are wasting it. In the spirit of the articles published in the "We Cannot Afford To Waste" column, do not waste paper on information provided to the public in this way. You, in the editorial office, please think about this manner of providing information and concentrate on concreteness only. The readers will certainly welcome that.

[Signed] Zdenek Cizek, Nyrsko
Daily Assesses Poor State of Prague Health Care

AU0709112688 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 September on page 3 carries a 3,000-word article by Marie Koenigova entitled "What Patients Have To Pay For." The article concerns the unsatisfactory state of medical facilities in Prague, and particularly with the delay in the implementation of the "general plan for the material and technical base of Prague health care."

Koenigova opens her article by citing remarks on the state of health care in Prague which were made in April by Deputy Mayor Martin Poliak at a session of the Czech National Council Committee for Health Care. Poliak reportedly said that "the material and technical conditions of Prague health care are far below the development level of the socialist society and unworthy of the high qualifications of our physicians and professionals." The slides that were shown to the Czech National Council deputies reportedly documented the "shocking" state of some of Prague's hospitals, most of which are over 100 years old. According to Poliak, only 11 of the 16 projects that were to be started in the last 2 years under the "general plan" were actually begun, and that "the start of further projects, planned for this year or the next, is uncertain." On the whole, the implementation of the general plan is said to be 2 years behind.

Koenigova goes on to review the history of the "general plan." She says that up to 5 years ago the problems of Prague health care were considered "taboo" and that the very creation of the general plan (the plan was approved in 1985) was a success. The main aim of the plan was to create 6,000 new hospital beds and to improve the condition of five additional hospitals in the Cssr capital. Koenigova notes, however, that several circumstances were "underestimated" in the course of work on the general plan. Above all, it did not consider that Prague would soon lose 3,000 to 3,500 hospital beds that "do not conform with the principles of modern health care" and that it "underestimated" the "very poor condition" of the university hospitals and the cost of some projects, "especially those which were to be built by foreign contractors and which have a high proportion of machinery supplies." As a result, some of the envisaged projects "will not 'fit' into this 5-year plan and will have to be deferred."

Koenigova then reviews the situation at individual building projects that are included in the general plan. Her account reveals that practically all of them are behind schedule, that there are problems with supplies, that Czechoslovak building firms are unwilling to work on such "demanding" projects, and that a shortage of funds prevents larger-scale use of foreign contractors (although some projects are already built by Polish or Yugoslav companies). Koenigova also describes how the slow reconstruction disrupts the normal operations of Prague hospitals and distracts physicians from their duties (an average of about 500 hospital beds a day are said to be out of operation due to reconstruction).

In conclusion, Koenigova shows understanding for the argument of the Czechoslovak building firms that "they have other, binding tasks, tasks that are monitored by the government and that have priority" (in terms of building capacities, material supplies, as well as manpower recruitment). She therefore suggests that, given the importance of health care facilities, the "responsible agencies of state administration" should "consider including them in the binding projects of the state plan."
Daily Urges Greater Licensing of Entrepreneurs

AU0709105888 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 September on page 1 carries a 1,500-word editorial entitled "Where the Decisions on

Citizens' Satisfaction Are Made." The editorial discusses the need to overcome bureaucratic and "insensitive" approaches in the work of national committees, with special emphasis on the need for national committees to make use of their greater independence under the amended law on national committees (which took effect on 1 June of this year). Speaking about the responsibility of national committees to provide services in the territories under their jurisdiction, the editorial criticizes the fact that "the national committees do not make full use of their powers. In Slovakia, for example, national committees issue only very few licenses to citizens to provide services. Only 6,700 such licenses have been issued in the Slovak SR, compared with almost 32,000 in the Czech SR." In another passage, the editorial notes that "some of the almost 40,000 employees of national committees" are not prepared for the tasks of tomorrow." In this connection it mentions that, in the Czech SR for instance, only 27 percent of national committee staff meet the prescribed educational requirements and only 51 percent of functionaries possess the "set political education."

Draft Document on Labor Brigades Introduced

AU0609132188 [Editorial Report] Prague PRACE and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 2 September, on page 3 in both instances, publish the 1,800-word "Draft Principles of the CSSR Government, the Central Trade Union Council, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, the Central Council of Cooperatives, and the Union of Cooperative Farmers Central Committee for the Development of the Movement of Socialist Labor Brigades." The proposed "principles" are said to reflect the labor collectives' changed status in connection with their "enhanced independence and responsibility."

As both papers note in an introductory passage, the document is being submitted for public debate, which should contribute to "its finalization so that the principles give a clear orientation for the further development of the movement of socialist labor brigades in the period to come." Trade union agencies, labor collectives, "especially socialist labor brigades," and individuals are invited to send in their comments and suggestions by 15 October 1988. These can be addressed to the Central Trade Union Council, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, or to the editorial offices of the two newspapers. According to one of the clauses in the draft document, the "principles" should take effect on 1 January 1989, thereby superseding chapters 1 to 4 and chapter 6 of a similar document which the CSSR Government and the Central Trade Union Council approved in 1981. Chapter 5 of the earlier document is to remain unchanged until the end of 1990.

Fuel Minister on Energy Production, Exports

AU0609132988 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 31 August both carry reports on a news conference given by Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of power and fuels, in Prague on 30 August, on the occasion of Miners' Day.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carries on page 2 a 400-word CTK report entitled "Past Year's Results." Speaking about the results of the fuel and power sector, the report mentions that 62,947,000 tonnes of coal were produced in the CSSR in the first half of the year and that electricity generation totaled 38,388 gigawatt hours, of which nuclear power stations accounted for 11,291 gigawatt hours. The CTK report also quotes Ehrenberger's remarks on organizational restructuring in the sector. According to the minister, seven state enterprises were established in the sector by 1 July while the remaining state enterprises should be set up by 1 January 1989. Ehrenberger states that only the two state energy inspection agencies and the research institute of the fuel-power complex will not be converted into state enterprises, and that they should have the character of subsidized organizations.

On the same day, RUDE PRAVO publishes on page 2 a 600-word "PP"-signed report on the news conference entitled "Undesirable Successes." According to the report, Ehrenberger criticized the slow pace of structural change in the Czechoslovak economy, which prevents the requisite decline in its energy-intensiveness. While the Eighth 5-Year Plan provides for a 2.9-percent average annual decline in energy use, the actual annual reduction has so far never exceeded 2 percent. As a result, the national economy "has already exhausted the allowance of fuel-power resources planned for the entire 5-year plan." The miners, for example, are said to have produced about 7 million tonnes of coal above the plan since the start of the 5-year plan, while the electric power industry is said to have exceeded its plan by 1.9 billion kilowatt hours in the same period. The report also cites the minister on his sector's export plans. He is quoted as having said: "The reduction of the much-discussed exports of coal and electricity also is not proceeding at the required pace, even though the prices of fuel and power exported to capitalist states have further declined. We believe that exports of coke and coking coal will decline while exports of brown coal will remain stagnant. Electricity exports, on the other hand, will slightly increase to secure foreign exchange for imports of diagnostic appliances to further increase the safety of nuclear power stations and for imports of some installations for ecology-related projects." Ehrenberger is also said to have discussed the impact of the planned investment cuts on his sector. According to the minister, about 30 percent of investment in the sector will be affected by the cuts, "including regrettably also projects under the state target program for rationalizing the consumption and use of fuel and power."

Army Gen Vopicka Awarded Order of Labor

AU0709134388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Conferment of the Order of Labor"]

[Text] The CSSR president has conferred on Major General Frantisek Vopicka, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Order of Labor on the occasion of his 60th birthday, in recognition of his many years of dedicated service in the Czechoslovak People's Army and his political commitment toward the socialist society.

The high state award was presented to him by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, in Prague yesterday.

FRG Paper on Honecker's 'Snubbing' of USSR

AU0709152288 Bonn DIE WELT in German 7 Sep 88 p 4

["HRK" report: "Mishap in GDR Report on Leipzig"]

[Text] Leipzig—The unusual silence of state and party leader Erich Honecker during his visit to the Soviet pavilion at the Leipzig Fair led to an unprecedented mishap in the history of GDR propaganda: The Liberal Democratic Party's SAECHSISCHES TAGEBLATT, which apparently had not been briefed in time on Honecker's renunciation of a speech because of political reasons, incorrectly reported in its Monday edition that Honecker "took the floor" at the Soviet pavilion.

In reality, as reported by DIE WELT, the SED leader renounced a response, apparently because of the strongly accentuated necessity of the "new political thinking" which [USSR] Deputy Premier Gusev expressed in his speech, and only permitted Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil to speak.

While the other local papers of the bloc parties reported correctly on the day after the fair's opening that Minister Beil responded to the Soviet guest, SAECHSISCHES TAGEBLATT apparently had not been briefed in time by the centrally directed propaganda apparatus. Assuming that the SED secretary general would also take the floor at the Soviet pavilion—as in previous years—the last sentence of the report reads as follows: "After the walkabout, a friendly meeting took place at which Vladimir Gusev and Erich Honecker took the floor."

The report by DIE WELT on the snubbing of the Soviets—representatives from Moscow expressed the same feelings in informal talks—triggered violent reactions in East Berlin: Because of instructions from above, Monday's edition of DIE WELT had to be removed from the press coffeehouse at the fair, evidently in order to prevent a confrontation of East Bloc journalists over this event.

Further on Death of Politburo Member Felfe

Medical Bulletin Reports Death

LD0709143688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1320 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—Comrade Werner Felfe died at 0745 on 7 September, at the age of 60, of acute heart failure, it was reported in a medical bulletin.

The report states that he had for years suffered from a chronic circulatory disorder, high blood pressure, and an irregular heartbeat. It was signed by Medical Officer Dr L. Kant, Medical Officer Prof Dr L. Linss, Senior Medical Officer Dr H. Banaschak, and Medical Officer Dr H. Bobach.

Politburo Mourns Felfe's Memory

LD0709121988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1137 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—The SED Central Committee Politburo met on Wednesday, 7 September 1988, in deep mourning. It honored the memory of outstanding SED functionary and GDR statesman Comrade Werner Felfe.

The Politburo decided on arrangements for the funeral ceremony.

Funeral Arrangements Set

LD0709131988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1152 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—The state memorial ceremony held by the SED Central Committee, the People's Chamber, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, is to take place at 1300 on Monday, 12 September 1988.

Following the state memorial ceremony in the Central Committee building, the interment of the urn bearing the ashes of the deceased will take place at the Socialists' Memorial at Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

State mourning is decreed for the day of the funeral ceremonies, Monday, 12 September.

The minister of the interior has announced that during the state mourning on Monday, 12 September, flags are to be flown at half mast on buildings of the central and local state organs and institutions.

Public events must take account of the state mourning.

Politburo Sends Family Condolences

LD0809132088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0824 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—The SED Central Committee Politburo sent condolences to the family of Werner Felfe this morning. Together with members and candidate members of the Politburo, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, expressed the heartfelt condolences and deep sympathy of the party leadership for the heavy loss suffered by the family due to the sudden and completely unexpected death of Werner Felfe.

'Text' of Honecker Condolences

LD0709155388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—The text of a letter of condolence to Margot Felfe signed by Erich Honecker is as follows:

Dear Comrade Margot Felfe,

We have received the news of the sudden death of your husband, our comrade Werner Felfe, with deep sadness and shock.

It is hard to grasp that our comrade Werner Felfe, our comrade-in-arms in the collective of the party leadership, is no longer among us.

The Central Committee expresses our deeply felt sympathy to you, dear Comrade Margot Felfe, your children, as well as to his mother, Comrade Lina Felfe, and your entire family. You can be certain in these painful hours that our party, which our comrade Werner Felfe worked and struggled for from his youth onwards, the communists, and all citizens of our country will always honor the memory of Werner Felfe.

With warm affection,

[Signed] E. Honecker

[Dated] Berlin, 7 September 1988

Government Publishes Obituary

LD0709150888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Obituary issued on 7 September by the SED Central Committee, GDR People's Chamber, State Council, Council of Ministers, National Defense Council, and the National Council of the National Front on the death of Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; place of issue not given]

[Text] Berlin, 7 Sep (ADN)—It is with deep sorrow that the SED Central Committee, the People's Chamber, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the National Defense Council, and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR announce that Comrade Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, died suddenly and unexpectedly on 7 September 1988, says an obituary published today.

With the death of Comrade Werner Felfe, our party and our people are losing an outstanding party functionary and statesman, one whose life was characterized by struggle for the ideals of communism. He worked tirelessly for the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the development of a socialist society in the GDR, and for the interests of the working people.

Werner Felfe was born on 4 January 1928 in Grossroehrsdorf, the son of a worker's family. At 17, he became a member of the KPD and after the union, a member of the SED.

In his early years, he proved himself as a young functionary in the Grossroehrsdorf local youth committee, as executive member of the local FDJ group, and as honorary secretary of the Kamenz Kreis [district] FDJ Executive. Through his active political work he won the trust and recognition of youth and his comrades.

The party entrusted him with increased responsibility in the Kamenz Kreis Executive and in the SED Land Executive in Dresden. At age 22, Werner Felfe was elected first secretary of the SED district party organization in Floeha.

After attending the Karl Marx Party College, Werner Felfe worked from 1954 to 1957 as second secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ.

Werner Felfe did great service in strengthening our socialist state power. He worked from 1957 to 1960 as deputy chairman and later as chairman of the Council of the Szchopau Kreis. From 1960 until 1963 he worked as chairman of the Council of the Karl Marx-Stadt Bezirk [area].

Werner Felfe's many years of work as secretary for agitation and propaganda, as second secretary of the Bezirk Executive, and from 1971-81 as first secretary of the Halle Bezirk Executive are indelibly linked with the successful advance of this significant industrial area and traditional revolutionary workers' center of our country. He worked tirelessly to implement the policy adopted by the eighth congress aimed at strengthening socialism, the securing of peace, and the well-being of the people.

For many years, Werner Felfe was a deputy of the People's Chamber of the GDR. He led the Youth Committee of the People's Chamber from 1954 to 1958. As a member of the GDR's Council of State, Werner Felfe made an untiring commitment to further fashioning our socialist state.

Werner Felfe's efforts to implement the resolutions of the SED, in accordance with the party line and the wishes of the working peoples, were deeply appreciated by the members of our party. In 1954, he became a candidate member and in 1963 a full member of the SED Central Committee. In 1973 Werner Felfe was elected a candidate member and in 1976 a full member of the Politburo. In 1981 he was elected a secretary of the Central Committee.

Within the collective of the party leadership, Werner Felfe performed outstanding and constructive work for the realization of our party's strategy for further fashioning a developed socialist society in the GDR as a historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural transformations.

He gained particular merit in elaborating and implementing the SED's agricultural and alliance policies. His particular concern was the deepening of the alliance

between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers and the development of our socialist agriculture as part of our capably performing national economy.

His entire work was characterized by a close, comradely relationship with the cooperative farmers as well as by his concern for the further shaping of their living and working conditions in villages and parishes. He paid great attention to the development of science and technology and their close connection with practice in the agricultural producing cooperatives and state farms. The training and promotion of cadres was a constant concern of his.

Werner Felfe's political activities from his youth onwards were marked by deep friendship for and close bonds with the CPSU and the USSR. As a party and state functionary, he constantly worked to consolidate fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union and to further extend cooperation with the socialist countries. He made an untiring commitment to strengthening socialism and increasing its appeal.

Comrade Werner Felfe's meritorious activities, his untiring readiness for action, and the important personal role he played in the comprehensive strengthening of our workers' and peasants' state, were honored by the Karl Marx Order as well as with the Soviet Order of Friendship of the Peoples.

The name of Werner Felfe will forever be connected with the develpment of our socialist fatherland, the GDR, and with the successful fashioning of the SED's agricultural and alliance policies. His life and struggle serve as an example. Our party and the people of the GDR bow their heads in deep sorrow to our comrade and friend Werner Felfe. His name is forever written in the book of our struggle for peace and socialism. We shall never forget him.

Hungary's Grosz Arrives, Welcomed by Honecker

LD0809094788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0758 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, arrived in the GDR on Thursday for an official friendship visit. He comes at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who welcomed Karoly Grosz very cordialy this morning at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

A military ceremony was held in honor of the Hungarian guest. Members of the GDR party and state leaderhip offered their greetings. Berlin working people affirmed the close friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic for socialism and peace.

The airport was decorated with the state flags of the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic when the special aircraft coming from Budapest and carrying the representative of the fraternal socialist country landed at approximately 0900. Erich Honecker welcomed his guest at the gangway with a cordial embrace, and Pioneers presented flowers. Both party leaders and statesmen expressed their pleasure about this meeting in the GDR capital. The MSZMP general secretary presented the other Hungarian officials to his host.

Karoly Grosz is accompanied by Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Jozsef Marjai, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Hungarian section of the joint Hungarian-GDR economic committee; Geza Kotai, director of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee; Laszlo Major, head of the Secretariat of the MSZMP Central Committee; and Istvan Roska, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

Following the military ceremony, Kroly Grosz inspected the honor guard with Erich Honecker at his side. After being welcomed by additional GDR public figures, the leading Hungarian representative was welcomed to the GDR by diplomats and staff from the Hungarian Embassy.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz then proceeded to the guest's residence at Schloss Niederschoenhausen.

Stoph Receives CSSR Officials 30 Aug

AU0209111488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Aug 88 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of GDR Council of Ministers, received Dr Antonin Kaspar, justice minister of the Czech Socialist Republic, and Dr Milos Barta, deputy justice minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic, on Tuesday [30 August].

During the friendly meeting, the interlocutors paid tribute to the high level of relations between the two countries. They stated in this connection that the accords reached in March 1988 as a result of the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on further developing bilateral relations, have been consistently implemented.

Willi Stoph informed his visitors about the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress. In this respect, he particularly discussed the nature of the worker-peasant state as a socialist constitutional state, the consolidation of socialist democracy, and the contribution of the judiciary to the further shaping of the evolved socialist society.

Dr Antonin Kaspar for his part expounded on the results and further tasks in implementing the resolutions adopted by the 12th CPCZ Congress aimed at accelerating the CSSR's socioeconomic development.

In discussing international problems, the interlocutors stressed the importance of the proposals submitted at the recent Warsaw Pact Consultative Political Committee meeting for the preservation and strengthening of peace, as well as the fact that the process of disarmament and confidence-building in Europe must be encouraged. They said that the CSSR and the GDR would continue to work with many initiatives for the creation of a common European home.

Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice, took part in the meeting. Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, was also present at the meeting.

Mittag, FRG Trade Minister Hold Talks

LD0509112788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0940 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Leipzig, 5 Sep (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received Dr Martin Bangemann, FRG federal economics Minister and FDP [Free Democratic Party] chairman, for talks in Leipzig. The talks are focusing on questions of trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Guenter Mittag stressed that, with the official visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG last September, new impetus had been given to trade and economic relations between the two countries. The GDR supports extending trade and economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Martin Bangemann stressed the FRG's interest in further developing trade and economic relations.

Both politicians noted that in the past, during the implementation of what had been agreed upon in the "joint communique," important steps have been taken and that it is necessary and possible to make further progress among this path. The renewed significant interest at the Leipzig Fall Fair of FRG businessmen in mutual trade on a solid and predictable basis underlined the positive view of further prospects.

Taking part in the talks on the GDR side were Gerhard Beil, minister for foreign trade, and Wolfgang Steger, general director of the Foreign Trade Ministry. The FRG participants were Dr Dieter von Wuerzen, state secretary of the Federal Economics Ministry, and Dr Hans-Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR.

Honecker Sends SFRY Condolences on Bus Crash

AU0609132088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Sep 88 p 1

[ND report: "GDR Condolence on Bus Disaster in SFRY"; date and place of message not given]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed the following letter of condolence to Raif Dizdarevic, chairman of the SFRY Presidium, on the tragic bus disaster near the SFRY city of Mostar in which a tourist coach crashed into a water reservoir and at least 30 passengers were killed:

Esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic,

On behalf of the State Council and the GDR people, I convey to you my deepest sympathy on the tragic bus disaster. I also request you to express my sincere condolencea to the relatives of the victims.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Government on Amnesty for Uprising Convictions

LD0709175788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Report by Gabor Bankuti on government spokesman's news conference following 7 September Council of Ministers meeting]:

[Text] The government recommends that people convicted following the events of '56 be exempted, through a general amnesty, from the legal consequences, that is, from being judged as a person with a criminal record, and that they should thus be entitled to passports. We learned from spokesman Gyorgy Marosan, that the submission had a variant which proposed individual clemency. In my view the variant approved amounts to a gesture, but please excuse me for commenting. The decision about clemency will be taken by the Presidential Council.

The government has decided in accordance with an earlier pledge that at the October session of the National Assembly the minister of enviromental protection will brief the legislature about the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage. Today's comprehensive debate also reaffirmed that taking all the circumstances and effects into account, in the present situation the construction of the barrage is the best solution, although partial solutions need to be modified at the same time. Environmental considerations must be given priority. The Academy of Sciences will set up an ad-hoc committee. This will help the government in making its assessment.

In reply to a question, the spokesman said that the government would not be proposing a referendum on the issue, but would submit to it if this was the decision of parliament.

The situation of the joint Hungarian-Soviet exploitation of the Yamburg natural gas field was also discussed. We shall be able to pay for one fifth of domestic consumption with Hungarian labor and goods. The investment project is a burden on the country, but energy supplies must be secured in time for development, said government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan in his briefing.

In reply to questions, he said that SZOT would probably meet the government this month. Radio and television will be allowed to report the speeches, those of the prime minister and the SZOT general secretary, and there will be a press conference after the meeting.

We learned from the spokesman that no decision has yet been taken on the question of which law should regulate the right to strike, but according to the government work stoppages are not the way to solve local conflicts.

The government also discussed today its recommendation regarding the modification of the electoral law.

Hungarian-Romanian Society To Be 'Reorganized'

LD0809085588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] The Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Society is to be reorganized. The body, which was originally formed in 1947 and has been defunct more recently, intends to use peaceful methods to struggle to resolve the controversial issues between the two countries. It also considers its aim to be to familiarize the Hungarian people with Romanian history and culture.

Bus Service Resumed With Romanian Town

LD0709151788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The special scheduled bus service between Szeged [in Hungary] and Arad [in Romania] has been resumed. The Hungarian provincial road transport enterprise schedules the buses on the Thursday of every alternate week to the Romanian town. [passage omitted]

The special service between the two towns has been revived after a 2-month pause.

MTI Previews Grosz Visit to GDR

LD0709122788 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and president of the Council of Ministers, is due to arrive in the capital of the GDR on Thursday for an official and friendly visit.

There are no disputed political questions between Hungary and the GDR. Both countries are committed supporters of detente, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the extension of mutually beneficial cooperation. Berlin and Budapest were already openly urging the independent role of small countries in the interest of international detente when this was far from being universally supported by Warsaw Treaty member countries.

The GDR is still Hungary's second largest economic partner from among the socialist countries. The value of this year's bilateral trade is close to 2 billion rubles. A quarter of all deliveries to both sides are made up of products manufactured as a result of manufacturing specialization and cooperation between companies. About one and a half million tourists arrive in Hungary from the GDR annually, while 500 thousand Hungarians visit the GDR.

During the two days of negotiations, it is likely that problems mainly connected with bilateral trade will also be discussed. The reason is linked to the special nature of the economies of the two countries. In Hungary, the role of the market and increased company independence has

come to the fore in recent years. In the GDR, the emphasis is still on central planning and control. Another source of tension in bilateral trade is the continually rising level of prices in Hungary and the relatively stable consumer prices in the GDR. These items will probably also feature on the agenda during Karoly Grosz's and Erich Honecker's talks.

Grosz Departs

LD0809062988 Budapest MTI in English 0615 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)— Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has left for Berlin to pay an official friendship visit on the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic. Karoly Grosz's party includes Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the HSWP CC [Central Committee] and member of the Central Committee, and Laszlo Major, head of the Central Committee Bureau. Istvan Roska, Hungarian ambassador to the GDR, is joining the delegation in Berlin.

Karoly Grosz and his party was seen off at the Ferihegy airport by Janos Lusacs, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, and Imre Szokai, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the Central Committee. Present was Georg Folk, charge d'affaires and interim of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic in Budapest.

Spokesman Details Government Session

LD0709225888 Budapest MTI in English 2031 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers discussed at its Wednesday session the draft of the election bill amendment and decided that it be released for social debate.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the implementation of the tasks and experiences relating to Hungarian participation in the Yambourg pipeline project, and set out its major targets for 1989.

The government discussed the report prepared for parliament by the minister for environmental protection and water management on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project. It was agreed that the report be submitted to parliament by the minister.

The government discussed and submitted for decision to the Presidential Council its proposal on forming new villages.

Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan spoke on the experiences he had gained from the session: One of his conclusions is that, in the issues looked at, the errors of the old decision-making system became obvious. This previous system was not characterized by clear and obvious decisions. Spheres of authority overlapped and the information supply was deficient. For this reason, responsibility generally became elusive and the control of openness failed to work and, as a result, the public frequently accepted with doubts the professional stand which was considered as official. For this very reason, it was also made explicit at the present meeting of the Council of Ministers that precise and varied information is indispensable for the extension of social openness.

The spokesman said that, following the briefing on the implementation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project, the government had analysed the investment project with particular interest and took its stance after careful evaluation.

The Council of Ministers concluded that, taking into consideration all circumstances and effects in the present siutation, the construction of the barrage is the best solution.

Therefore, the construction of the barrage according to the concluded agreements is considered necessary. The economic efficiency calculations of, and obligations from, the signed agreements do not allow for the implementation of an essentially differing alternative. The government, at the same time, finds it necessary to modify certain details, where justified, in the light of information which is constantly coming in. During the construction of the barrage system and its actual operation, priority shoulkd be given to environmental protection considerations.

The government made the following promise: Until the end of the investment project, a monitoring system is to be set up which will permit immediate reaction to unwanted effects and therefore it is looking for ways to reduce risks without basic modification of the investment targets.

The government asked the president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to set up an ad hoc committee to evaluate objectively the documents made available by the government, the analysis of which will be made public by the Council of Ministers.

In connection with the Yambourg cooperation report, the spokesman recalled that, according to the Hungarian-Soviet agreement signed in 1985, Hungary is purchasing annually 2 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Delivers start in 1989, and will last until 2008. This concession deal is one in which the Hungarian work

input and deliveries of capital goods cover only one fourth of the value of gas deliveries. The rest will be made up by commodity deliveries. The government is aware that all this is a great burden on the economy, but the agreement provides the supply of 20 per cent of country's annual natural gas demand. The most important phase of the construction, the technological mounting, is currently in progress. On the construction site, the Hungarian firm Vegyepszer employs more than 5 thousand professionals and skilled workers. Their work earns recognition, but there is a certain amount of public resentment about the aim and efficiency of the investment, mainly owing to the more difficult situation of the country. The spokesman had this to say on the subject: International experience clearly proves that the majority of European countries are trying to cater for their energy demand in the long term, and among our options at the time of taking this decision, this solution was considered the most favourable. Taking all these into consideration, it is the government's stand that, in the remaining period of the investment, the most important task is the improvement of economic efficiency.

The Council of Ministers discussed the proposal of the minister of justice for abolishing legal prejudice against those sentenced between 23 October 1956 and 1 May 1957, who would, as a result, become eligible for passports. At its Wednesday meeting, the government had to choose from two possible alternatives: One was general amnesty, and is to submit its bill on the related law decree to the Presidential Council. The spokesman also said that only those who had committed very serious crimes—treason, espionage, and other serious violations of the penal code—would be excluded from the general amnesty.

Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior, announced that the government agrees with the draft amendment of the election law being released for public debate. Following the debate, the government will consider the issue again before submitting it to parliament.

Responding to questions, he said that the present draft preserves the institution of alternate deputy. The social debate on the amendment of the election bill, expected in November, will be organised by the patriotic people's front and the bill will be read in parliament next spring. Regarding the right to choose candidates, he stated: According to current ideas, this right will be granted to the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party' the Central Council of trade Unions, the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, the National council of Agricultural co-operatives and other bargaining organizations. The eligibility of recently- formed organizations, such as the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which, according to the present official rules and law is a non-registered organization, should be looked into after the new law on associations comes into force.

Gyorgy Marosan announced the government's stand on industrial actions. He said that, whilst the government recognizes the objective grounds of the discontent, it opposes the practice of problems being solved only at high level and by force of strikes. This latter means can only be used in justifiable cases, and, in resolving conflicts, all bargaining options should be used.

The government made it quite clear: The presence of a strong and independent trade union is in its interest. Only efficient bargaining could prevent the aggravation of the problems. At the same time, however, the trade unions should be strong with their members, to have the compromises reached at corporate or sectoral level adopted and represented.

The government spokesman announced: If parliament votes in favour of a national referendum on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros issue, then the government will bow to this decision. However, the Council of Ministers considers the referendum on this matter unnecessary.

Replying to questions, Istvan Horvath said: The handling of the matter of those who re-settled from Romania is working well, but our experiences show that some modifications are needed. Among other things, it is necessary to issue residence permits of longer duration to reduce the insecurity of the situation of the re-settlers.

VOSZ Open Letter on Economic Incentives

LD0709230588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The VOSZ [National Federation of Entrepreneurs] was formed 6 months ago. The interest representation organization has made its voice heard in several consultations and debates since that point. Now it has organized another consultation, this time concerning the credit possibilities of enterprises. In addition to the orginal program, an open letter has also been established, the details of which are reported by Emil Kardos:

[Kardos] Instead of increasing the siphoning-off, the government should operate the economy with incentives to shape the market. This is how Peter Simcsa, chairman of VOSZ, has summed up the letter read to the VOSZ members. His words were received with applause. By the way, the letter contains the summary of the debate on the company law. What was thought to be the most important point was that further guarantees are needed in the law so that the economic leadership would observe the letter of the law regarding the companies.

In the view of the VOSZ, the decree of the unified enterprise tax proposed in the draft law can make unviable not only entrepreneurs but can also even prevent the introduction of the law. This is because it further tightens the siphoning-off in a significant circle. Meanwhile, the entrepreneurs' lack of capital is already making impossible individual initiatives and companies'

readiness to develop. Therefore, they pointed out in the open letter—which will also be sent to the National Assembly deputies—the degree to which central taxes [koezpontositas] must be reduced. They proposed that the government, instead of seeing as its task the reduction of the budget deficit, should consider as its duty the stimulating of the economy, even by increasing indebtedness.

In any case, what the VOSZ considers to be important is a review of the central institutional system and military spending, and reducing them. The leadership could obtain more money by doing this. This is because the current system of siphoning-off cannot be expanded without an erosion in confidence, in a moral and economic sense. Social insurance and the pension system were also discussed. In the view of the VOSZ, the money taken away by the center is too great, and it is not used appropriately. The government, even up to creating a comprehensive social policy reform and law, should not worsen what is bad with its tightening measures.

Finally, entrepreneurs see that the government would by now be willing to modify the personal income tax zones, but not in proportion to the degree of inflation. If it takes place in this way, the letter points out, then it will not increase output and will not improve the economic perspectives.

All this was summed up in an open letter which VOSZ will send to the National Assembly deputy groups. In the near future, VOSZ will try to convince the deputies in 13 large towns of the correctness of the letter. The entrepreneurs will tell the deputies that they should adopt the company law only when all this is taken into account and modifications are carried out.

Grosz Interviewed on Hungary's Gypsies, Plans

AU2908150088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 88 p 4

["Shortened" interview with Karoly Grosz, premier and MSZMP general secretary, by Pal Farkas, editor of the Gypsy-language ROMANO NYEVIPE: "For Them, With Them, and by Them"; date and place not given]

[Text] Pal Farkas, editor of ROMANO NYEVIPE, the organ of the Cultural Association of Gypsies in Hungary, recently interviewed Karoly Grosz.

The interview dealt with vital issues concerning Hungary's Gypsy population, their problems in adjusting, opportunities for development, and about preserving their identity. Here is a shortened version of this interview:

[Farkas] Some of Hungary's Gypsies would prefer to completely assimilate into the Hungarian nation. Others would like to exercise their citizen's rights in the framework of autonomy and to preserve their language, cultural heritage, traditions, fairy tales, beliefs, and customs which have been preserved over the centuries, mainly by oral tradition. What are our prospects and opportunities for achieving this?

Direction of a Solution [subhead]

[Grosz] I agreed with pleasure to give this interview because both my political beliefs and human faith are obliging me to search for constructive solutions that can be applied here and now to the complex problem of Hungary's Gypsy population. I consider this to be absolutely natural, and I cannot even imagine another approach to successfully dealing with this issue. I believe the fact that I have received the honor of carrying out important public tasks has only increased the weight of my responsibility. I would like to start by saying that, being aware of the extremely contradictory nature of this issue, I am optimistic, because the political leadership and I, as a responsible leader, hold a position that is completely in harmony with my views as a private citizen. According to my experience, these views are also identical with the progressive efforts of the Gypsy population. We do not deal with the Gypsy fate instead of with the people, nor "for them but without them", but "with them, for them, and by them."

As for the first part of your question, according to the lessons of history, a natural assimilation which is free of pressure and force must be regarded as a natural phenomenon among various ethnic communities that live in each other's vicinity for a long time. This is true, and not only in the case of the Gypsy population. However, I think it is unacceptable and deeply antihuman to force and precipitate this assimilation, and that such a practice radically opposes our socialist principles.

In what direction then can lie a solution? In my view, integration, social adjustment, and development worthy of a human being are the best possible ways of solving this problem. Consequently, I believe in joint efforts in this direction by uniting the positive energies of the Gypsy population and of society at large. I want to point out here that, in this respect, I do not have any principled opposition to the Gypsy population becoming a national minority; on the contrary, I do not exclude such a possibility in the future. However, in the current difficult situation and being aware of the real situation of the Gypsy population, its strong differentiation, and other hindering aspects, I think that to precipitate the Gypsy population into becoming a national minority is as much of a bias as a forced assimilation in general. We act correctly only if we allow individuals to make their own decision in this respect, too, because only this approach is in harmony with fundamental human rights.

This leads to the second part of your question. In my opinion, in our present situation, autonomy cannot be reached through a mere declaration of national minority rights. Let me mention here the lessons connected with the fate of national minorities living in Hungary. In their case, too, a lot of patience, complete consolidation of mutual trust, and appropriate and multilateral measures taken under well-prepared conditions were needed to reach the stage at which every national minority citizen can justifiably feel today that he can indeed decide for himself on the ways to adapt to our society.

To Preserve Their Cultural Heritage [subhead]

I am well aware of the fact that proper conditions can be created only together with the Gypsy population. In addition, I regard it as important that the "middle strata" of the Gypsy population makes gains more quickly, both in their number and their positive influence. I see serious opportunities for Gypsies who have already gained respect in non-Gypsy surroundings to further strengthen this respect. The most important thing, however, is that these people should serve as an example, and if possible, provide substantial help to their peers who are in the most difficult conditions. If the planned government measures—which, I repeat, are not made exclusively for the Gypsy population, but are, naturally, in their interests, too, given these people's unfavorable conditions—can reach the Gypsy population by means of the aforementioned mediation, I believe that this will lead to results.

All this makes it not only possible but also desirable for us to jointly salvage the Gypsy language, cultural heritage, and traditions. I am convinced that this would contribute not only to the Gypsy culture but also to the entire Hungarian culture, and without this, we would all be poorer. After all, it is important for all of us to make sure that the Gypsy population really feels at home and that Gypsies feel they are citizens enjoying equal rights in Hungary.

[Farkas] The unfavorable situation of the Gypsy population made it impossible for them to reach cultural peaks in great numbers, together with the sons of workers and peasants, and other poor people. Following the Politburo decision of 1961, a promising development began, but, in the changing and difficult economic situation, this development has unfortunately slowed down. One fears that, in the wake of the present economic restructuring, this unfavorable situation will further deteriorate. In your opinion, what are the opportunities for a genuine improvement in the Gypsy situation along with the development of the country?

[Grosz] The Gypsy population had a considerably small share of the opportunities for development following Hungary's liberation, compared to its proportion of the overall population. However, as a starting point, I would like to stress that the Gypsy population did receive something that it had never possessed during our previous history—namely, full equality of rights. If I add that ever since Hungary's liberation, a considerable number of Gypsies have become citizens with equal rights actively engaged in socialist construction, I think this clearly demonstrates the qualitatively totally different social and political circumstances prevailing today. I also know, however, that the positive efforts were limited to symptomatic treatment, and that the concrete solution chosen at the time has often been considered to be the only viable one. Thus, the Gypsy issue often appeared mainly as an employment, cultural, health care, social, or criminal investigation issue during different periods of time, rather than as a complex issue. There is another very important thing: The failure of the aforementioned enthusiasm led to further failures in our society, which is prone to prejudices as it is. At the same time, the centuries-old Gypsy opposition and mistrust have also increased and often appeared as aggressive manifestations.

To simplify the matter, we must now plan and act in light of this knowledge. The fact that regular employment—without which there is no progress—is now facing greater difficulties than before is definitely limiting our scope. We are hindered by the fact that, at present, we can allocate much less money than we would like to for education and on health care. Without this, it is impossible to achieve real success in the Gypsy issue. We have similar problems in the area of housing. In spite of all these things, I continue to be optimistic. We have gained important and useful experiences in the implementation of the Politburo decision of 1961, a decision of historical importance in my opinion, too. In my opinion, the establishment of the National Gypsy Council, the Cultural Association of Gypsies in Hungary, and state and public organs that are competent in dealing with the Gypsy issue is a great achievement. ROMANO NYEVIPE, the regularly published organ of the association, is playing an important role, too.

It Is Still on the Agenda [subhead]

[Farkas] The Central Committee has not yet dealt with the issue of Gypsies in Hungary. Are you planning this in the near future?

[Grosz] In view of the present concepts, no. At the same time, this issue will be discussed more frequently at government, council, and mass organization levels. However, my opinion is that only putting it on the agenda is not enough to make an issue rise to the rank of policy in the noble sense of the word. However, we have all the necessary party and state documents at our disposal to be able to deal with the Gypsy issue in an appropriate manner on the national level. Neither ideological nor political reasons hinder this endeavor on a national level.

[Farkas] Anti-Gypsy prejudices have culminated these days. In addition to bands of fighting Gypsies and graffiti painters, skinheads who openly plunder have appeared.

[Grosz] Unfortunately, it is a fact that racial hatred, which is one of mankind's most abject and inhuman passions, also seems to be gaining ground in Hungary. It appears in various forms, including anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy feeling. I, personally, am deeply disgusted at these phenomena, and I consider them to be the most repulsive forms of one's exaggerated profession of being Hungarian, something very much in vogue nowadays. This is particularly dangerous because it not only poisons our domestic atmosphere but also seriously damages our growing international prestige.

Therefore, I cannot accept any explanation as an excuse for this phenomenon. I consider it an extremely false argument when some people try to justify the prevailing anti-Gypsy feeling by noting the criminal tendency of some of the Gypsy population. Of course, one can find crime and brutal violation of the written and unwritten laws of human coexistence among Gypsies, too, the amount of crime among Gypsies is greater than the proportion of Gypsies to the entire population. This, however, derives from their disadvantageous situation, which is worse than the average, rather than from an ethnic particularity. I refuse to classify Hungarian society from this point of view. Only one viewpoint can be valid, namely, that acts that violate the law should be consistently and strictly punished by means of the law, irrespective of the violator's origin, skin color, or other considerations. At the same time, we must make steady efforts to reveal and eliminate the social reasons behind criminality. The government has always taken a clear position in this area, and if necessary, our criminal investigation offices will not refrain from applying more severe means, too. I believe that, in this task as well, the government can rely on the understanding and support of decent people.

The Guarantee of Success [subhead]

[Farkas] In your opinion, is the solution to the Gypsy problem in Hungary a social policy issue or a much deeper and complex issue?

[Grosz] This issue cannot be limited to social policy. By accelerating their social adjustment, we do not do a favor for the Gypsy population, but we represent the general interests of our people, including those of the Gypsy population. However, I can imagine a social policy method only in the framework of a more comprehensive and modern economic, social, cultural, and health care policy.

Finally, the entire issue can be advanced only if the Gypsy population also participates in increasing numbers and with increasing responsibility. By this, they do not do a favor for society either, but they contribute to the implementation of their own fundamental interests. I am convinced that the Gypsy problem can be solved successfully in this way, even if it is only slowly and gradually. I wish determination and success for all of us in this endeavor.

[Farkas] Thank you for the interview.

Leaders Congratulate SRV on National Day

AU0609150588 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Sep 88 p 3

[Text] On the occasion of the SRV's national day, Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and premier; and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, sent a telegram of congratulations to Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State; and Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers. Istvan Stadinger, chairman of the National Assembly, also sent a telegram of congratulations to his Vietnamese counterpart, Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly.

Jaruzelski Meets WFTU Chief Zakaria

LD0709185988 Warsaw PAP in English
1727 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7: PUWP CC First Secretary, Wojiech Jaruzelski, met here today with the general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), Ibrahim Zakaria, who is currently visiting Poland at the invitation of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ).

During the meeting Ibrahim Zakaria informed his host about the main directions of the WFTU'S activities for the protection of the lively interests of working people all over the world. The participants also exchanged views on certain problems of the international situation, especially on the participation of the working world in the struggle for peace and universal disarmament as well as the current situation in the international trade union movement.

Wojciech Jaruzelski informed his guest about the actions being undertaken by the PUWP and state leadership for the realization of the 10th PUWP CC congress' resolutions and about the problems in the realization of the program of socialist renewal in the present socio-economic conditions in Poland.

The meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, Council of State Member, OPZZ deputy chairman Jerzy Uzieblo and the heads of the PUWP CC'S Foreign and Social-and-Labour Departments, Ernest Kucza and Maciej Lubczynski, respectively.

More on OPZZ Meeting, Resolution on Reform

Pre-Meeting Price-Income Policy Talk Reported

LD0609100988 Warsaw PAP in English
2108 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Chairmen of trade unions in 210 largest Polish enterprises and chairmen of voivodship alliances of trade unions met here today to assess the effects of the price-income policy on the standard of living during the first half of this year. The meeting, chaired by Alfred Miodowicz, was meant as a consultation with representatives of the basic plane of union movement activities before the meeting of the Council of the All- Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ scheduled for tomorrow, which is going to be attended by government representatives.

Union opinion on the economic policy, especially on the unsuccessful (as the government admitted) price-income operation, was clearly a negative one. The discussion confirmed the accuracy of the general evaluations formulated during the August 20 meeting of OPZZ'S Executive Committee and those presented by Miodowicz during the 8th PUWP CC Plenum.

Speakers criticized not only the price-income operation but also the entire economic system which restricts initiative and enterprise, especially in the socialized sector of the economy.

It's true that the strikes died out, but their causes were not removed, it was said during the meeting. Until they are eliminated, the threat of strikes will continue to exist. Today, even the best programmes will not thrill anybody in Poland unless they are attached to hard facts in at least small issues. The lack of visible changes may lead towards further radicalization of attitudes, the meeting warned.

Union activists explicitly spoke in favour of the observance of the principle: one enterprise—one trade union, along with the full opennes of the union movement to all whose intention is the well-being of the working people as well as along with the maximum susceptibility of this movement to programmatic, organizational or personnel changes to be decided by trade union activists alone. A second union organization would not have any reason for its existence, it was said.

Miodowicz on No Confidence Vote, Walesa Meeting

LD0709175988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The OPZZ leadership gave a news conference for Polish and foreign journalists. A majority of the questions concerned yesterday's OPZZ resolution on a vote of no confidence for the government and trade union pluralism. Alfred Miodowicz [Politburo member and OPZZ chairman] once again expressed himself resolutely in favor of the principle, one trade union in one work enterprise. He declared the openness of the trade union movement toward the program, and organizational and personnel changes which should be decided on by the trade unionists themselves. The legalization of Solidarity as a second trade union, he said, would lead to dangerous divisions among the workforces. Alfred Miodowicz also answered questions about a possible meeting with Lech Walesa, which, according to him, would require initiative from both sides.

Reasons for No Confidence Vote Given

LD0609231788 Warsaw PAP in English
2125 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 6—Council of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ held a meeting here today. It was attended by representatives of various enterprises and Sejm deputies-members of trade unions. After a discussion the meeting adopted resolutions on the implementation of the economic reform and the price-income policy, and on the unions pluralism.

The discussion was initiated by OPZZ vice-chairman Waclaw Martyniuk. The strikes have ceased now, he said, but their causes have not been removed till today. As long as this does not happen we stand all chances for another wave of strikes even at a larger scale.

The life alone has evaluated the price-income policy. [sentence as received] (...) The job of ours, as the union movement, is not to govern. We feel responsible for the defence of working people's living standards. Responsibility, actual and constitutional, for the condition of the economy, for the quality of life of the working people, rests on the government. Hence our declaration of August 20, hence the reasons for the vote of non-confidence for the government clearly expressed by our representative for the 8th plenary meeting of PUWP CC.

A new economic policy may provide foundation for the unions to contract social accords. Its aim cannot be three hard up years or years of self-denial. This aim must be a general recovery of the economy, improvement of the living standards of the vast masses of working people.

We do not avoid responsibility for the fortunes of the enterprise, region, or country, Martyniuk said in conclusion. But there is no common responsibility without co-deciding.

Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda said that the government desired to present, in a critical, open, and first of all constructive way, its opinion on the backdrop of the evaluation of the first half of this year and the relevant conclusions and proposals of further activities. He recalled that the general assumptions of this year's price income policy had been adopted during broad social consultation, disputes of experts, and by the Sejm with understanding and they were recognized as correct. When accepting the OPZZ reasoning, the government satisfied nearly all its postulates on compensations for price rise.

The hitherto evolution of the situation suggests, Szalajda stressed, that during 1988 there will not be any decline in the real wages of any professional group. We must agree that the price-income operation has failed to produce the expected effects.

Szalajda said that there is no danger of decline in real wages in 1988. Unfortunately, the implementation of the planned targets is being done under high price inflation and growing market imbalance. This seriously complicates the achievement of the aims.

Society's moods are not fully identical with a slightly better statistical picture of the situation. The government alone will not be able to reach the planned aims, Szalajda stressed. There is also a need for help and cooperation of trade unions.

The OPZZ Council adopted two resolutions: on the implementation of the economic reform and the price-income policy and on the union pluralism.

In conclusion of the debate Alfred Miodowicz said: We have expressed our determination and willingness concerning three questions. The first is the need for trade unions integration in enterprises with the federations and OPZZ. Second, we have voiced our confidence for the deputies which should be highly obliging to them. The third concerns the union's pluralism.

It is very good we have made it clear that talks on the union pluralism should take place within the unions and only there. We are open to every discussion under condition of respecting our principled stance which envisages one union in one enterprise and recognition of its autonomy in making decisions in agreement with the approved statute. We invite all to join our ranks and together with us, possibly even better than we do, fight for the interests of working people and defend the dignity of labour.

Recent strikes, Miodowicz went on, were strikes of minority. Terror of the minority turned out to be dangerous in its economic and also moral consequences. Workers crews have split and their reunion will be a very long-lasting process. He said that the unionists are interested in an eficient and strong government even if its decisions make unions protest.

Miodowicz Interviewed on Meeting

LD0609231188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz by Warsaw radio correspondent Magdalena Winiarczyk at the OPZZ meeting in Warsaw on 6 September—recorded]

[Text] [Winiarczyk] Mr Chairman, what is going on in the room where the meeting is held is no doubt a result of Poland's economic situation. How can one briefly assess it?

[Miodowicz] The meeting is calm. I have seen stormier meetings here—for instance over the OPZZ budget. But the meeting's participants are moved by the working people's dramatic situation. I do not hesitate to use the word dramatic. Let us note that every social strata is getting poorer. This is not noticed, because we only see those who are riding on the crest of the wave of the economic disintegration. But when some are floating up and do not have to relate their home budgets to work, others who work consider that the principle of socialist social justice is being infringed upon.

Let us recall the cause of the August and September 1980 cases which we consider justify the working people's disatisfaction and anger. What was the cause? Infringement of the principles of social justice. We have found ourselves again in a similar situation. That is why it will

always be necessary to think about how to assist the working people in the socialized economy sector, those who live off the state budget: teachers and doctors.

[Winiarczyk] But the situation is defined by the capacities of the economy, which as we know, are limited. The trade unionists have proposals on what should be done so that the working people can live better and the situation can improve.

[Miodowicz] We do have proposals, but most of all we notice spare capacities. The biggest spare capacities are in Poles' gray cells. There are 37 million Poles; let us discount senile, old people and children—there are still 18 million grown up people capable of thinking. Let us use this intellect, their life force. I think we are incapable of doing this. Simply, one cannot become convinced about the reforms if one listens to professor Sadowski, because I know the government has worked very hard and its program is being implemented, but this program is incomprehensible for those who are to realize the reforms. It is not the government or OPZZ who are supposed to be doing this; this is to be done by people at the base, in the primary level enterprises—not private or agency enterprises, but socialized sector enterprises. We must not forget these people.

[Winiarczyk] But this is not the only subject of the debate today; there is another one—trade union pluralism.

[Miodowicz] We think that the trade unionists should speak about pluralism. I constantly hear people who have never seen a factory in their lives—that is they have seen one but have never worked in one—and people who do not belong to trade unions. These people are speaking on this issue today. Pluralism—yes, but on the lines of our principles, which are highly pluralistic, please read the trade union law and our statute; everything is possible. Join the unions and implement the programs.

[Winiarczyk] So your attitude is that there should be one trade union in one work enterprise.

[Miodowicz] Of course. Just as there is one management for each enterprise. Unless there are to be several managements in a factory, then we would have a different trade union for each management.

Miodowicz on Reform, Pluralism, Walesa Meeting

LD0709214788 Warsaw PAP in English
1939 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—A day after the session of the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Council, which adopted resolutions on a vote of no confidence in the government and on trade union pluralism, members of the OPZZ leadership, including the organization's chairman, Alfred Miodowicz, met with domestic and foreign newsmen here today. The press conference was dominated by the two subjects.

Justifying, at the beginning of the conference, the OPZZ Council's resolution on the realization of the economic reform and the price-income policy, OPZZ Deputy Chairman Walcaw Martyniuk recalled the stances and opinions of the OPZZ on economic issues since 1985. During this whole time the labour movement consistently spoke out against the economic policy which reduced the reform to a price-income chase, against burdening solely the working people with the costs of the realization of the reform. The labour movement also issued numerous warnings against the social effects of such a policy. However, the unionists' opinions were not taken into consideration, yet life confirmed their correctness.

The labour movement continues to support the main goals of the economic reform but disagrees with the hitherto concept of its realization.

Alfred Miodowicz elaborated on this issue, answering questions about the state of realization of the resolutior s adopted during the trade union congress. "We evaluate this realization negatively, this is why we will meet in November, at mid-term, to discuss this," Miodowicz said.

Commenting on the OPZZ Council's motion on a vote of no confidence in the government, Alfred Miodowicz said that the point here are not personal accusations levied against the individual members of the cabinet but the lack of agreement on the concept hitherto promoted by the government.

"The PUWP Political Bureau, of which I am a member, is also responsible," said Miodowicz who has been asked many times how he manages to reconcile his functions in the Political Bureau and the OPZZ. "I identify myself with the decisions undertaken by the Political Bureau though this does not mean that there is total unanimity in this gremium," [meaning guild or society from Latin] Miodowicz said.

After all, Wojciech Jaruzelski, giving floor during the 8th PUWP CC Plenum to two Political Bureau members—Alfred Miodowicz and Zbigniew Messner—was aware that their opinions would be divergent. "The Political Bureau functions in an open way and each of us makes statements fully voiced both during the bureau's sessions as well as in public," Miodowicz added.

Trade Union pluralism was the subject of many questions. Alfred Miodowicz once more decidedly spoke out in favour of the principle: one trade union in one work establishment. At the same time he declared the maximum openness of the labour movement to programmatic, organizational and personnel changes which, however, should be decided by the trade unionists themselves. "The legislation of 'Solidarnosc,' as a second trade union would only lead to dangerous divisions among workers," he said.

"The subject of the 'round-table' talks cannot be reduced to the issue of trade union pluralism. This would be a debate of involved, important people who present various views and are credible in society—on the state of the country, state and society. It should be a debate on how to best utilize the intellectual and vital powers of our nearly 40 million strong nation. Undoubtedly union pluralism will be one of the subjects of the discussion, however, final solutions must be arrived at through direct talks between unionists," Miodowicz said.

Answering a question on a possible meeting with Lech Walesa, Miodowicz replied: "The initiative here belongs to two sides. We are open."

Ministers Discuss Strike Effects on Economy

LD0709211688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Excerpts] [Unidentified presenter] We continue on the subject of the economic landscape after the strikes, with the participation of our guests, Ministers Bazyli Samojlik and Ireneusz Sekula. The first question: Are the losses going to be increased by payments and pay for the strikers?

[Sekula] There should not be any doubts on this matter, Mr Editor, as I have said. No payments will be made. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Did anyone win in the strikes, gain anything from them, or win an increase in pay?

[Samojlik] Mr Editor, there are no doubts here either. The government is not allocating financial means for wages to an enterprise. It defines the generally obligatory principles formulating the means for renumeration of business. [passage omitted] When we establish the parameters for the principles of the formation of the means for remunerations, we base ourselves on previsions contained in the plan. Later during the year it may happen that greater or smaller devations from the plan occur, and it may be necessary to make corrections during the year. This year corrections to the principles for the formations of the pay parameters have been made, but all those corrections concerned the whole national economy. None of the corrections was addressed to a striking or nonstriking enterprise. We have in no way been changing either the systematic principles or the parameters when addressing them to a specific enterprise. Although, of course, a mass of such applications came in, are coming in, and will continue to come in, particularly from enterprises whose economic and financial situation has become worse as a result of a strike. But there is an absolute prohibition to allocate relief, any facilitation, or tax exemptions for such enterprises. [passage omitted]

Premier's Economic Plan Team Holds Session

LD0809073988 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 7—A team, set up by the premier to work out a national economy consolidation plan, held a session today under the chairmanship of Vice Premier, Chairman of the Government Planning Commission Zdzislaw Sadowski.

The team includes 21 members. Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik and First Vice-Chairman of the Government Planning Commission Franciszek Kubiczek are deputies of the team's head.

The session focused on selecting basic problems to be solved in the consolidating plan and a procedure to be adopted to work it out.

As the most important problems which [words indistinct] into consideration regarded were:

—Acceleration of the implementation of tasks of the program of the second stage of the economic reform and verification of their succession

—Putting emphasis on the achievement of internal balance and simultaneously making exports more dynamic as well as leading to hampering debt growth

—Radical curbing of inflation and activities aimed at increasing supply of goods and services

—The necessity of deep and prompt restructuring of the economy, especially elimination of inefficient enterprises and also of energy and material-consuming products and technologies

—Demonopolization of the economy, liquidation of redundant links in the system of the national economy and creation of conditions for the development of competetiveness.

The team will hold its next session in the coming days.

Messner Meets With Railway Employees

Discusses Supply Problems

LD0709183788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] To mark Railway Workers Day Zbigniew Messner has had a meeting with Polish State Railways employees. They discussed various problems of this sphere, of which the most important are supply difficulties. The premier also listened to demands and proposals concerning economic and organizational solutions and the technical modernization of our railways.

Speaks About 'Tense' Situation

LD0709185388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1747 GMT 7 Sep 88

["Excerpts" of speech by Premier Zbigniew Messner at the meeting with a group of Polish State Railways employees on 7 September, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] We said that these years would be increasingly difficult, for there is a clash of two different systems. That is, the old system stops working and the new one does not work as planned, because the conditions are not there for it to work; it works sporadically. [passage indistinct]

The situation is tense. In my opinion, it is unfortunately created at the moment on a wave of tension and not on a wave of rational thinking. This does not mean that I am unaware of all the conditioning factors [uwarunkowanie], difficulties, and problems that cause it. That is, I realize, we realize all the difficulties that arise. But I also have the right to say that many views, opinions, and statements are unfortunately made on a wave of so-called emotions, which will benefit no one.

They have always led us. We have always (?dropped) into a situation in our history—not only in the 40 years of People's Poland—which everyone regretted afterward and out of which we tried to get. That is exceptionally difficult. I wouldn't like anyone to misconstrue me, that this is passing the buck. It is simply concern about the issue at the moment. But I must say that the government and particularly myself personally are obliged to keep our nerve to the end, to consider the issue calmly, not to let emotions take over, not to hand out emotion for emotion, and to behave rationally and try to bring certain matters out (?into the clear).

Leaders' 1 Sep Factory, Field Visits Summed Up

AU0709114488 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 2 September publishes on page 3, under the heading "Members of Party Leadership Among Work Forces," Marek Badtke's 2,500-word roundup of the 1 September visits made to various factories and places by party leaders, who made comments on the country's present situation.

During his visit to the voivodship party organization in Legnica, Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, reportedly said that Poland has found itself at present at a dramatic turning point and that the key to solving this situation lies in the hands of the party, as well as in dialogue and accord with the people.

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and national defense minister, visited the Kalisz aerial engine and equipment plant and reportedly told the work force that it is necessary to search for solutions that satisfy the people who really care for Poland, to serve the country, and to improve living standards. "Our meeting," he is reported as saying, "is taking place on the 49th anniversary of Hitlerite aggression against Poland, which is an occasion to ponder the significance of the institution of the state for our national existence and freedom. Our state now has secure borders, which have been guaranteed by allied treaties. We must defend this state against destruction and disintegration from within."

Speaking of national accord, Siwicki is reported as saying, that "all the people who care for the fatherland should participate at the roundtable discussion, even if they may have other views about the road to our development. We will be most resolute in defending our constitutional order and the socialist system of the state. The promised roundtable talks and their eventual success may begin a new historic chapter in our country's life and become a valuable achievement of the entire socialist system."

Politburo member Zofia Stepien reportedly met with the aktivs of the Oswiecim women's organizations and told them that she agreed with their view that women are most painfully affected by all shortcomings of economic life, saying that the welfare of families is to an enormous extent determined by the ability, courage, and above-average efforts of mothers and wives to cope with daily difficulties. "We must appreciate this unusual role of women in our present life and must do everything to ease women's professional and home commitments," she is reported as saying.

During his visit to the Tychy car plant, Politburo candidate member Manfred Gorywoda is reported as saying that "the party's primary task is to bring our people closer to all the materials of the eighth party plenum. We must ensure that our program and activities are continuous in all spheres, including our efforts to expand cooperation of all social forces in line with the principles of the PPR's constitutional order."

"That is why," M. Gorywoda reportedly continued, "we are not changing only our signposts. The National Accord Council is an example of our efforts to search for such structures and forms of accord that can help to improve the political climate and economic situation of our country. This proposal seeks to achieve precisely this goal. It has not just been made because of the present strikes. Let me recall that even at the sixth and seventh plenums issues such as a changed election law and the establishment of the second parliamentary chamber were included in the agenda. The party program, which is aimed at renewal of our national life and at national accord, is unchangeable. No one has questioned it, because there is no alternative to it."

"As for miners' problems," he reportedly continued, "let me note that the Katowice PZPR Voivodship Committee fully supports the proposal of the mining trade unions that the mining wage system be changed soonest. Miners also continue to bring up the issue of their own

stores. The Boleslaw Smialy and other coalmines insist that these stores should be eliminated. This would certainly be welcomed by the people, but we do not intend to rush the miners to take a stand on this issue."

Politburo candidate member Janusz Kubasiewicz attended the party meeting at the Cerad radio ceramics plant in Warsaw and reportedly said in response to workers' allegations that life in Warsaw is becoming increasingly difficult, but that many hardships would stop harassing people if everyone did his job and worked for the benefit of his neighbor. "After all," he is reported as saying, "everyone always wants something from someone else, and everyone is always able to respond to someone else's wishes."

During the open party meeting of the primary party organization in the Romet bicycle plant in Bydgoszcz, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the Central Committee Secretariat, reportedly replied to a remark from the floor that, although Italian governments come and go surprisingly frequently, the Italian economy continues to function effectively, that past events have demonstrated that the easiest thing to do is to change the government. "Seeking to consolidate the economy," he reportedly stressed, "and to carry out the economic restructuring in such a way as to promote the production of consumer goods calls for most consistent efforts. We should also be more concerned for the state's general affairs, instead of promoting parochialism, the interests of various communities, and the requirements of various small groups. That is why efforts to broaden the social composition of our government have been so intense in the past few years. Demolishing old structures and eliminating rigid ways of thinking is our party task. We have to replace emotions with rational arguments and demonstrate every day that the old political and economic scenarios must not be used ever again. We must observe the principles of cultured political behavior when implementing the overriding goal of eliminating divisions and creating conditions that can ensure the country's desirable development."

Urban Says No Concessions at Stalowa Wola

PM0609153088 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 1 Sep 88 p 9

[Interview with Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban by Franco Di Mare in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban calmly lit his pipe over a cup of coffee in his office. He agreed to an interview and very calmly answered our questions just as the meeting between Walesa and the interior minister was under way nearby.

[Di Mare] Mr Urban, the government seems to have yielded to labor union pressures and accepted a dialogue with Walesa while the strikes are still in progress....

[Urban] This is not so. It is not negotiations that are under way at present. It is a dialogue to prepare the roundtable and define the tasks and the agenda. We still maintain, however, that the correct condition for a resumption of the dialogue is an end to the current strikes. It is not—and could not be—a categorical condition because we know that Walesa does not exert influence over all the current strikes.

[Di Mare] The fact that the Solidarity leader is here in Warsaw is a kind of implicit acknowledgment for that union, which your government still declares to be illegal....

[Urban] Your impression is mistaken. It is a meeting with a world famous person who represents a certain political stance. The dialogue with Walesa does not mean that the government accepts Solidarity's clandestine structures. In any case Solidarity itself is split internally.

[Di Mare] There are also splits within the government over economic policy—so much so that Jaruzelski has been forced to defend his prime minister.

[Urban] There are no splits within the government. There are three centers of power within Solidarity. Within the PZPR Central Committee there are discussions and an exchange of differing opinions. Ultimately, however, there is only one policy line.

[Di Mare] Today is the anniversary of the Gdansk accords. Do you believe that this roundtable could produce new accords signed by both sides, such as those of Gdansk?

[Urban] We do not conceal the fact that we are approaching the coming negotiations with a negative stance.

[Di Mare] What does "negative" mean?

[Urban] It means that we are opposed to the establishment of a second labor union in the factories. Above all we believe that Solidarity is not a labor union organization but, rather, a political organization. The negotiating platform, however, must be the enterprise, the factory itself. In other words, we must consider the economic problem and not transform workshops into forums for political disputes. We propose factory elections for each individual enterprise. Where a labor union structure already exists we are asking Solidarity to engage in talks with the existing labor union. Where, on the other hand, Solidarity is in a majority we propose factory elections in order to be able subsequently to choose a path that will represent everyone—within a single labor union structure, however.

[Di Mare] Solidarity describes these talks as a historic event. Do you agree?

[Urban] I always dissociate myself from such categorical statements. It is difficult to judge. Even before martial law was declared there was a meeting between General Kiszczak and Walesa, and it had very important objectives. That could not have been described as a historic event either, however. It is the Western press that seems very excited about these events....

[Di Mare] Probably because many people perceive in Polish events a kind of dress rehearsal for Gorbachev's restructuring—in other words, Poland as a bench test for the current reforms in Moscow.

[Urban] I disagree with these assessments. Social feelings here are much stronger than in the Soviet Union. The tension is greater and in the economic field the opposition is much more developed. All these things make the Polish situation very different from the Soviet situation.

[Di Mare] Mr Urban, what will happen at the Stalowa Wola steelworks, which produce steel for the Warsaw Pact's tanks and which are still occupied? Will the police intervene?

[Urban] The situation is very tense. We hope that persuasion will be enough. Be that as it may, there will be no compromises.

Rakowski on Strikes, 'Solidarity' Trade Union

AU0709061988 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Sep 88, pp 146-150

[Interview with PZPR Politburo member Mieczyslaw Rakowski by DER SPIEGEL editors Klaus Reinhardt and Bernd Doerler in the Warsaw Central Committee building; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, the strikes have given Poland production losses worth millions of dollars. Could the Polish leadership not have avoided confrontation by showing more political common sense and by reacting more cleverly?

Rakowski: That is hard to say. In the beginning, these strikes did not look half as dangerous as they turned out to be later. It should be added, however, that the majority of the working people did not take part in them.

SPIEGEL: The dramatic strikes last May also looked quite harmless in the beginning.

Rakowski: Right. Like today, the Polish leadership then proceeded from the conviction that political solutions must be found to end the strikes. There were never any considerations on our side to solve the problem by force.

SPIEGEL: However, at the same time, Hungary gave an example of how to settle such conflicts. A miners' strike there was resolved in less than 24 hours by negotiations, not by bringing in the police or the military.

Rakowski: The political situation in Hungary is different from the situation here. There were never mass strikes there as we had here in 1980 and 1981. Hungary's economic situation is also different. The living standard there threatens to go down only now, whereas the tight situation here has been a fact for 8 years.

SPIEGEL: This time, the main demand of strikers in the mines and docks was not a material one, but concerned the readmission of the banned "Solidarity" trade union. Who or what prevents you from meeting this demand?

Rakowski: Primarily our past experiences. They do not allow us to agree to the readmission of the "Solidarity" trade union. These experiences are still fresh in many people's memory. Apart from that, I do not believe that Poland's future depends on whether the "Solidarity" trade union exists or not. What is much more important is the question of how the social and general climate in enterprises will develop.

If we were to readmit the "Solidarity" trade union, the result would automatically be the splitting up or even division of the worker class into groups which would fight each other.

Then there would be other autonomous trade unions besides the "Solidarity" trade union, and of course there would also be the present trade unions. Then there would probably even emerge a fourth organization—a successor to the former industrial branch unions.

SPIEGEL: However, that is precisely the type of pluralism about which the party leadership keeps talking.

Rakowski: That would not be pluralism, but anarchy. Do not forget our tendency—which is conditioned by our nationality—toward anarchy in social life. It has existed in Polish history for centuries.

SPIEGEL: But that sounds very much like the slogan that the Poles are not yet ripe for democracy.

Rakowski: I simply believe that the realists among the Poles must also consider our past and our history. There is a Polish idiom that is very difficult to translate into German. It says that Poland is built on disorder. By the way, there are very different opinions in Poland, which have, however, to be taken seriously, on the question of whether the Poles are ripe for democracy.

Let us return to the present situation. I think that it is necessary for the 12 million working people in the state-run economy to be organized in one trade union—no matter what plans, what programs, and what relations with those who govern this trade union may have.

SPIEGEL: As you know, Interior Minister Kiszczac and worker leader Walesa met last Wednesday [31 August]. Does this mean that the government has gotten over its fears of contact with him?

Rakowski: There have never been any fears of contact with Walesa. We have always said that what interests us is not where a person comes from, but what qualifications he has. However, it is clear that Walesa came with the demand to legalize the "Solidarity" trade union again.

SPIEGEL: Why did the state power then talk to him?

Rakowski: We wanted to talk to him in particular about a roundtable discussion in which all the social forces of this country should take part.

SPIEGEL: Did he come as a private person, as an electrician, or as the "Solidarity" leader?

Rakowski: He came as Walesa. We do not view him as the leader of the "Solidarity" trade union, because this organization no longer exists legally.

SPIEGEL: In 1980, meaning prior to martial law, you advanced a conspiracy theory, according to which the "Solidarity" trade union was only interested in assuming power. At the time you were already relatively alone regarding this thesis. Do you still stick to it?

Rakowski: I did not talk about the whole of the "Solidarity" trade union at the time or at any other time; but I have clearly differentiated between the advisers, the leaders, and the masses of the "Solidarity" trade union. So, do not try to tell me that I considered the whole of the "Solidarity" trade union a movement which planned to seize power. I read only yesterday that Walesa said that he does not intend to change the system. That is a valuable realization, but there are quite a few "Solidarity" leaders who make no bones about the fact that they want to assume power.

SPIEGEL: Is worker leader Walesa a purified rebel?

Rakowski: You know my opinion about Walesa is a very personal one. I think he undoubtedly is a man with charisma. Undoubtedly he also has matured politically in the last 7 years. He no longer is the Walesa he was in 1980 or 1981.

SPIEGEL: He could not fare much worse than being praised by you, of all people.

Rakowski: I do not intend to do that. I only want to be objective in assessing him personally. However, his weakness also still exists, which means that today he says this, and tomorrow something else. In that respect he regrettably has not changed.

SPIEGEL: At present, it seems more that the "Solidarity" trade union spokesmen have prevented worse things by their moderate appearance. Most of them were against walk-outs and advocated negotiations. The damned trade union appeared in the role of an institution maintaining public order.

Rakowski: As I said, there are very many different views and persuasions in the "Solidarity" leadership, but one thing is clear: In the strikes in the mines and docks the same "Solidarity" people acted as spokesmen who also had the say in 1980-81.

SPIEGEL: We do not believe that. Those who started the strikes now were mostly young workers between 20 and 30, who mathematically just cannot have been members of the old "Solidarity" trade union. They only called in the old activists because they are more experienced.

Rakowski: You may say so, but after 1 or 2 days of strikes, the leaders of the old "Solidarity" trade union suddenly appeared again.

SPIEGEL: What does that prove?

Rakowski: That the strike movement did not start spontaneously, but was wire-pulled—as it had been then and was now.

SPIEGEL: The crucial problem of the recent conflict is that there are many Poles who do not expect the party or the official trade unions to change their situation, but who do expect that of the "Solidarity" trade union. Why is that so?

Rakowski: In my view it is not true that most Poles place their hopes for a better future in the "Solidarity" trade union. If that were to be the case, not only 200 to 500 miners would strike in every mine, but at least 50 percent of the work force would.

SPIEGEL: If the trade union really has as few supporters as you have claimed, why can it put on such a show, time and time again?

Rakowski: Of course, there is something like a myth of the "Solidarity" trade union, which always livens up under difficult economic conditions. If a magician were to appear who improved the economic situation of all Poles over night, nobody would strike anymore.

SPIEGEL: The "Solidarity" theme would probably have been settled long ago, if the government had made the trade union share responsibility. Then it would have become clear that not even Walesa and his people are magicians. However, together with the "Solidarity" trade union, many a thing would have been easier to push through with the people.

Rakowski: This, too, is one of the myths that cannot be eradicated. Economic factors in particular decide the people's relationship with their government. Our public opinion research has clearly shown that only a very small percentage of the people are interested in politics in the broadest sense.

SPIEGEL: That is probably the case throughout the world.

Rakowski: In Poland, some 10 percent is interested in politics. How can you conclude from this that there is an interest in the question as to whether the "Solidarity" trade union should be permitted or not? After all, this is a political question.

SPIEGEL: As is the fact that the "Solidarity" trade union is part of the society and of public opinion.

Rakowski: I can only repeat that we still have a clear recollection of 1981, the year that almost brought us to the abyss. We cannot permit ourselves to repeat this situation. The world would not understand us and would only mock us.

But it is also obvious that conditions have been created in Poland in recent years allowing the exchange of different views. The last word has not been spoken regarding democracy.

SPIEGEL: The party periodical POLITYKA, whose chief editor you were for 25 years, recently said: "A substantial change for the better can only be achieved if the state power succeeds in bringing about agreement with the society"—obviously a demand for more pluralism and more democracy. If you were still POLITYKA chief today, would you have left this sentence as it is?

Rakowski: Yes. But viewing the development of the situation in Poland objectively, we must state that this authority, of which I am a part, has created a broad platform during all those years, which makes the dialogue between the state and society possible. That was not easy.

SPIEGEL: So the authority does not have to improve at all?

Rakowski: Just a moment! I am far from being satisfied with what we have achieved. But several years ago, we could not even imagine some of the things that now seem to be a matter of course—the freedom of the press in our country, for example. I can list quite a few institutions that did not previously exist in the Polish system, ranging from the ombudsman to the social and economic councils of parliament, and including the Consultative Council of the State Council chairman, and so on and so forth.

All these liberalizations are of course part of a process which takes its time. Currently, a new law permitting political clubs and other organizations is being prepared. We have announced the setting up of a second house of parliament. In this way we will make sure that the composition of our parliament will be more pluralist than it is now.

SPIEGEL: So you think that there is no actual reason for your former POLITYKA colleagues to complain about the ruling class' lacking readiness for dialogue?

Rakowski: All these activities that I just mentioned surely broaden the platform for a dialogue. I do not want to praise myself here. But if we compare the democratization that has been implemented in Poland with other countries in this part of Europe, it seems to me that a lot has been done here—more than elsewhere.

You surely know that every social system takes its time to mature—often decades. That was the case in France following the Revolution, and it also was so in Germany. It took decades and decades. After all, the system in the FRG, with which you are now so satisfied, did not just suddenly appear some day like a deus ex machina.

SPIEGEL: Does glasnost in Poland not primarily serve as a valve for the people's dissatisfaction?

Rakowski: Well, you know, the time of the valves is long over. I believe that the Poles' awareness has changed in the last 8 years. Here you cannot deceive anybody with valves. We may say that in 1980-81, the Poles terminated their studies at the all-national political academy very quickly.

SPIEGEL: At a Central Committee meeting in the week before last, your party chief, General Jaruzelski, announced a "bold change." If we counted correctly, this is the fifth new beginning. What is the goal of the change this time?

Rakowski: First of all, I would like to praise my party chief who was convinced from the beginning, since I have known him, that great changes are necessary in Poland's socialist system. He pushed them through when the time was ripe. That was the case with the release of political prisoners or the creation of the consultative council. It is also the case now. It is not the fifth new beginning, but the implementation of the political line that was adopted at the 9th PZPR Congress in July 1981.

But you asked: a change in what direction? I answer with a well-known formulation: in the direction of democratic socialism, in the direction of definitely abandoning the remains of Stalinism in the political structures.

SPIEGEL: However, you formulated it similarly at the last change.

Rakowski: So what? This formulation was also valid at the time. I do not think that anybody has a ready answer to many questions about the future of socialism in this part of Europe.

SPIEGEL: Polish opinion pollsters found out late in May that only 5 percent of the people think that the present government and party leaders are capable of improving the situation in Poland. That is a rather disastrous result. Should the leadership not resign?

Rakowski: I do not believe it. There are different opinion polls the results of which vary—also regarding this question. However, there is no doubt about the fact that our basic problem is to regain the confidence of society.

SPIEGEL: You will probably only be successful if the fleshpots do not continue to be empty, if the lines in front of the shops disappear, and if inflation which currently is at least 60 percent goes down. Most Poles surely want nothing else but to live better.

Rakowski: Certainly. However, you are exaggerating, talking about empty pots and empty shops. We do not deny that some of the people have to live under very difficult conditions but there are also sections of the population in Poland to whom the term "empty pot" is totally unknown. There is no hunger in Poland.

SPIEGEL: The fact that few people are better off than the majority surely does not throw a favorable light on Poland.

Rakowski: There are workers who earn very good wages. They do not like being unable to buy some goods, even though they have enough money. On the other hand, there are others who earn wages far below the necessary standard.

SPIEGEL: Whatever reasons you may give for the grave shortages—why was it not possible in the last 8 years to improve Poland's economic situation?

Rakowski: Again I must protest. Poland's economic situation is much better now than it was in 1981. I must add, however, that we now have to pay for our economic reform, and I am afraid the price will be very high.

Theoretically, all of the people agree to it, but in practice, many people are not ready to make sacrifices. Take the typical example of the numerous enterprises in our country that are totally unprofitable and should have been closed down long ago. However, every effort to really shut down such an enterprise is met with protests by all sides.

SPIEGEL: Protests in particular by the heavy industry lobby in the Central Committee?

Rakowski: There is no such lobby in the Central Committee. No, the protests come from below—the party organizations in the enterprises and the trade unions. As far as I know, there was not one single case where they did not protest with very big words. They said that this violates the principles of socialism and so forth.

SPIEGEL: So the grassroots is responsible for the economic decline?

Rakowski: Again wrong. We have to blame the old economic model in which it was quite normal to subsidize weak enterprises, regardless of the economic benefit. If this system is now to be changed, loud protests are very often voiced.

SPIEGEL: Thus the sins were committed in the past?

Rakowski: Not only then. However, I claim that the situation in Poland would be much worse without the economic reform, as imperfect as it still is.

SPIEGEL: Does the crisis not have other reasons? We quote from an internal party study: "Our economic mechanisms have been wrongly applied." That means that there are too few people in the Polish leadership who know something about the economy.

Rakowski: I would not say it this way. I would like to answer by quoting Gorbachev. When he talked about the situation in the USSR he said: "We all are children of this era." No, we surely have outstanding economists in Poland. However, one of our national characteristics also is the fact that every economist has his own ideas of the economic recovery.

SPIEGEL: According to the old Polish adage: Three Poles, four opinions?

Rakowski: Something like that.

SPIEGEL: The bad economic situation, but in particular the lack of prospects for the future, have led to hundreds of thousands of your compatriots going to the West in recent years and months....

Rakowski: .... Young Poles in particular.

SPIEGEL: What do you intend to do against this exodus?

Rakowski: If only we had a quick answer to that! In my view, the fact that these people leave must be a common concern of the church, the party, and every thinking Pole. One solution would be to create better prospects, to remedy the shortage of housing, and to increase the salaries, for young university graduates in particular.

The situation in Poland now is such that a young man who works at a factory after having completed his vocational training earns more than a young doctor. That proves that the whole wage concept is wrong. Things here have gotten so far out of hand that professions that we consider typical professions of the intelligentsia are paid particularly poorly.

SPIEGEL: That sounds as if you understood the motives of the young people who decide to go to the West.

Rakowski: Of course, I understand them, but to understand them does not mean to back them. I would much rather like to see the young Poles stay here in Poland. Therefore, we, who are older and hold government responsibility, have the task of creating conditions, so that the exodus declines at least. What use is it talking about it? No matter how you formulate it—the fact that they leave the country is an accusation against those who are responsible for economic policy.

SPIEGEL: A personal question: It was only under Jaruzelski that you changed from journalism to active politics. If the General gives up or even has to go—what will become of Rakowski?

Rakowski: I will be 62 soon. I have worked since I was 13. Therefore, I think I deserve a rest. In addition, I have yet a lot to write. For 30 years, I have regularly made notes. So a lot of material has piled up.

SPIEGEL: However, if you become Polish prime minister soon, as people in Warsaw say, you will not have time for that.

Rakowski: I do not dream of this position, nor do I believe that it would be right to try to get it, but I am a born ideologist. I just like politics.

SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, we thank you for this talk.

Michnik on No Reform Without Solidarity

PM0709083488 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 29 Aug 88 p6

[Article by Adam Michnik, "spokesman for Lech Walesa": "Reforms in Poland Impossible Without Solidarity"]

[Text] Over Poland there hovers the mirage of a roll of bathroom tissue—an inaccessible dream for almost all families. Some months ago a magazine wrote about a private entrepreneur who wanted to produce this rare commodity but eventually had to abandon his plans, deterred by wealth tax. Bathroom tissue is still a rare commodity. This is the result of our martial policy.

According to an opinion poll (belonging to the party) only 5 percent have confidence in the present government team. As for per capita income, Poland rates last among the European countries (the figures for Albania are unknown.)

This is undoubtedly another critical moment for Poland. The threat of another revolution emerges from private remarks, the latest strikes, and even official statements. With the following anxious question: When? Even this fall?

I am no expert in predicting when society could explode. Be that as it may, the Communists who rule in Poland are the ones causing explosions. The militarist policy introduced on 13 December 1981 has failed. This diagnosis has penetrated even government circles: Hopes of an economic reform under the protection of tanks and police have been frustrated, as have the hopes pinned on the magical effects of western credits. Lastly, the changes in the USSR have ended hopes of rebuilding the Stalinist system.

The result of all this is a hybrid society: The weakened Stalinist structures are confronted with the weakened institutions of society. All this, amid economic devastation and growing poverty.

Hitherto Jaruzelski's team has talked constantly about reforms, while at the same time constantly stepping up repressive measures. The Poles responded by boycotting the municipal elections.

It is a paradoxical situation because by acknowledging that this situation cannot continue, these promises of reforms probably embodied an element of realism for the first time. However, goodwill alone is not enough. There must be a correct perception of the balance of forces: In Poland the government has the support of the anti-reformists, while the will for reforms is represented by the opposition to the government.

Briefly, in Poland, as in the USSR, the resistance to reforms proceeds from the nomenklatura, from a large proportion of the bureaucratic apparatus, since the aim of the reform is precisely to gradually eliminate the all-powerful parasitic bureaucracy from the sphere of public life. So much so, that the exact nature of the anti-reformist forces is not known and the reform programs are mere rhetoric. Without society's support, the government cannot overcome the nomenklatura's resistance.

Wojciech Jaruzelski enjoys no support from society. For Poles he is not only the architect of the militarist policy but also the head of a government team that has squandered resources for 7 long years. In the Poles' eyes he is also responsible for the unrealistic concept of a historic compromise between the nomenklatura and the Catholic Church.

According to remarks by some representatives of the apparatus, this historic compromise should be replaced by an agreement with Solidarity. This idea demonstrates the total incomprehension of the phenomenon constituted by the Catholic Church in Poland.

The church wields enormous authority: It defends human equality and dignity. However, it is not—nor does it want to be—the champion of political aims. The church's function is metapolitics.

Society's resistance and its unyielding stance toward the present government are reflected in various ways. One of these is the constant stream of emigres. The lines outside the western embassies in Warsaw are a damning indictment of government policy. The corruption—barely credible—is a pathological defense response created by widespread aversion to the system.

Political opposition, however, though fiercely combated by the power of the state, is the least threatening form of protest. It offers prospects of a compromise. Recent years, however, have shown that what Jaruzelski's team wants are not people ready to compromise but cooperative people. The orientation toward this "cooperation" has reinforced the paralysis of the government apparatus, thus prolonging the crisis.

This is why all those planning reforms in Poland must remember the watchword of the strike committees and of Lech Walesa: Freedom impossible without Solidarity. Together with its accompanying demand for an anti-crisis pact, this watchword has become a topic of principled disagreement within the government.

Since December 1981 a succession of Stalinist vacuities have characterized the government sphere. Now the very opposite is clearly the case: Members of the apparatus—even those traditionally in accord with the party's obscurantism—are making statements laden with anti-Stalinism and pluralistic concerns.

There is nothing mysterious about this. The decline of the state's power has always been an inherent factor of political swings in the system. The latest signs cannot be ignored:

—There is talk in public about an economic crisis and environmental disaster.

—A whole series of new magazines launched by the Interior Ministry are tring to seduce people with their liberal language. Censorship is less rigid.

—Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak has received authorization to establish a fund for the protection of large families.

—The official labor unions are following the evolution of the workers' strikes.

All this means that the monolithism in the government sphere is dying out.

It also means that a large proportion of the government apparatus has realized that the changes in the USSR are an enduring process and that they are neither superficial measures that can be ignored, nor a failed experiment.

Some members of the government apparatus are letting it be known in private conversation that the time has come for a meeting between Jaruzelski and Walesa, though it is vigorously denied by government spokesman Urban. How is this to be interpreted? What interpretation is to be put on the fact that an attempt is now being made to replace the "anti-crisis pact" formula with "pro-reform coalition"?

Behind this semantic change there hides a disagreement over how things stand. Only the nation's living forces can forge an "anti-crisis pact." The precondition is official recognition of Solidarity's right to exist. The pro-reform coalition, however, is simply another appeal for the population to rally around Jaruzelski.

This idea would have been absurd 20 years ago. The idea of communism with a human face, as advocated by the reformers in Prague, was able to win over the vast majority of Czechs and Slovaks. At that time, however, Stalinism-Brezhnevism was strengthening its position in the USSR. At that time the idea of a pro-reform coalition with a human face failed. What we want now is a Poland with a human face—a Poland without communism, since in our opinion this will always be a system under which people will be the property of the state and the state will be the property of the nomenklatura.

The nomenklatura resolutely defends its positions and privileges. Jaruzelski would not dare engage in open conflict with the apparatus. He will evade an analyzing of the past 20 years—years of stagnation and crisis that have brought our country to its present state of disintegration.

We will thus witness another farce of hopeless reforms—reform without Solidarity. Jaruzelski is counting precisely on the poor state that Solidarity is in, what with its internal differences, and on the possibility of isolating individuals and groups. It is also counting on the popularity of its statements that Poland's renewal will be almost the same as Soviet restructuring.

The current swing is also a challenge. Will the political elite be able to recognize its significance? Is its capacity for political representation sufficient?

The government sphere feels that the new international situation is a threat. It demands the abandonment of officious language and an end to the anti-reformists' stubbornness toward Solidarity. Within the party apparatus the spirit of Brezhnev, of stagnation, which also lay behind the militarist policy, confronts the spirit of reforms. Which will win?

It is also a sign to the Solidarity leadership. The labor union has a long history, interrupted by the key date of 13 December 1981. Its strategy was entirely different before martial law. The time has come to seek a new way of thinking and acting.

It is necessary to formulate a Solidarity blueprint for the era of restructuring. A blueprint that takes account both of the international situation and of Poland's own specific situation. A blueprint that envisages a reform of the system, with a revolutionary objective—the transition from a Stalinist order to a democratic order.

Europe's recent history provides an example—Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy. Victory was preceded by an anti-crisis pact for the political reforms that established the rules of a compromise and introduced a democratic electoral law.

Can the Polish Communist leadership make an imaginative effort similar to that made by Franco's leadership at that time? And can the Solidarity leadership display the same capacity for compromise as the Spanish opposition did then?

To sum up, is existing communism as reformable as Franco's regime? To be honest, the answer lies closer to skepticism than to hope.

Solidarity Adviser Gremek on Polish Crisis

PM0709104088 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Sep 88 pp 1,3

[Unattributed interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa, in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] Following the meeting between Lech Walesa and the interior minister, what do we know about the roundtable proposed by the government?

[Geremek] We still have no details about the proposed roundtable. We only know what was said in a few statements by General Jaruzelski and General Kiszczak and which contain no details about the composition, the number of participants, the institutions, movements, or organizations concerned, or the agenda. We have the impression that the idea of a roundtable stems from the head of state's Consultative Council. If this is the case, I must say that the Consultative Council experiment is rather negative, because that institution provided fairly broad freedom of speech but had no decision-making power, and provided no opportunity for dialogue among different groups and opinions.

I will go further. The very concept of a roundtable is inconsistent with present requirements. Now, after this initial meeting between Kiszczak and Walesa and the decision to call off virtually all the strikes, we need practical negotiations and hence a table with representatives of the government and the strikers on each side.

[Interviewer] Is that not a roundtable?

[Geremek] It is more of a square table than a round table. It is only later that we can imagine a general discussion on the prospects for political, economic, and social change within the regime. But there is first a specific set of problems on which there must be negotiations.

[Interviewer] Which problems would take priority in negotiations?

[Geremek] There are three key points: The first is trade union pluralism and the legalization of Solidarity. The second is the extension of pluralism to the social sphere and to public life, which does not mean political pluralism but the freedom to create associations and political clubs. The third is the establishment of an anticrisis pact.

There is a direct link between these three points: The Polish workers must be given real representation first. They need a trade union. That trade union is Solidarity. Unless that problem is solved, Polish national questions will continue to be a source of conflict because the real conflict in Poland lies in working-class circles. So, if this conflict is to be solved, giving freedom to intellectuals is not enough.

We must first respond to working-class aspirations. The younger generation, which did not live through 1980 and 1981, sees Solidarity as the realization of their aspirations.

The fact that we were trying to raise the question of freedom to form associations, and political clubs is connected with the trade union question, because we are aware of the fact that, if Solidarity is legalized, it will not be the same movement or the same trade union as in 1981. We say that we accept the trade union law drawn up and passed under martial law in 1982 as the starting point for the legalization of Solidarity. We are also trying to release Solidarity from a degree of political pressure. In 1980 and 1981 that trade union alone embodied all hopes and aspirations. But if pluralism in the sphere of associations is developed, it will guarantee that Solidarity will not become a source of political conflicts again.

With regard to the anticrisis pact, we think that if Solidarity is legalized and accepted as an independent partner, it could give pledges not only on support for a government policy, but on the basis of a feeling of shared responsibility for the country's future. Poland is experiencing a terrible crisis. It is becoming difficult to describe the state of the national economy in simple terms.

When we say "crisis," this does not reflect the serious nature of the Polish economic situation. In such conditions, we must take responsibility for the situation. This new trade union wants participation in the formulation and implementation of economic policy.

[Interviewer] In what way?

[Geremek] The first problem is how to depoliticize the economy. The Polish economy has reached a state of virtual collapse because of the party's leadership role. It must be released from that role, although it is laid down in the Constitution. We must be aware that it is not enough to repair this economy, it must be changed. This way of thinking in terms of responsibility also raises questions connected with the democratization process. The liberalization practised by communist regimes meant that from time to time the policy was like that of a good father who suddenly became quite kind, but that depended only on his wishes and his mood. Well, what we need now is the institution of a democratic system, not through the granting of freedom, but through established institutions. This is a debate on the model of post-Stalinist government.

Everybody, both society and the party, now knows that the Stalinist model under which we are living, however human or inhuman its face, is not only inefficient, it is no longer tolerated. They know that changing this model has become a vital precondition for the development of the whole communist bloc. Of course, I can see the obstinacy of the ruling political class, which defends its privileges at all costs, and the mental indulgence which the Stalinist model gave it when it did not need legitimacy. It must now obtain this legitimacy, if not by free elections, which is still the best method, at least by efficiency in exercising power. In both cases the Communist Party fails completely. If it is to overcome this situation, it must now accept very far-reaching changes.

[Interviewer] Do you think that the government is prepared to accept pluralism as you understand it?

[Geremek] I do not have any answer to that question. The last Central Committee plenum was a rather negative event. Indeed, it reduced the political openings which seemed to be emerging in the previous few weeks. My impression is that, although the problem of trade union pluralism has become one of the key questions, if not the key question, for the Polish public, it is the thing which the government and Jaruzelski's team find most difficult to accept. According to the general's way of thinking, accepting Solidarity's legalization now means accepting defeat—the failure of the operation which was started on 13 December 1981. But I hope that this team will be capable of overcoming personal feelings. However, in the present situation, following the initial contact between Walesa and Kiszczak, I cannot be sure that Jaruzelski's government is prepared to accept trade union pluralism and that it does not want simply to cover over this problem and surround it with the verbiage to which this regime often resorts.

[Interviewer] So, the strikers who have expressed their bitterness have reason to be distrustful?

[Geremek] This is a reaction which I regard as natural, and I would like to add that I share it. It is important to understand that the decision which has just been made is a risky and very bold decision. The Solidarity leadership's reasoning is that there is now an explosive situation and the government wants to try to prevent it from growing worse. There is therefore a chance of establishing a contract, and it is very important for Walesa to show that he is in charge and that he controls the strategy and the situation. He must show that he is capable of ending strikes and that he is as capable of starting negotiations as he is of starting a conflict.

[Interviewer] Lech Walesa is running a risk....

[Geremek] It is a great risk and he has been facing it for some time. It is the risk of a gap appearing between him, his policy of nonviolence and compromise, and the younger generation of workers. If the government team does not respond to Walesa's proposals with specific actions, it will increase that gap and will make the situation much more dangerous.

[Interviewer] Is the government aware of that?

[Geremek] This is one of the bases of Walesa's decision. His conversation with Kiszczak, and Kiszczak's method of explaining the situation gave him additional proof that the government is aware of the situation. But this awareness does not mean action, or that they will act upon the idea. The leadership is hampered by numerous obstacles—mental, psychological, and political. The problem therefore is: Will the government have enough courage and imagination to introduce a new policy, breaking with the strategy of destruction introduced by martial law?

Poland is now at a turning point. If the government does not make decisions once and for all, it will pay the price and so will we. If Jaruzelski really proved incapable of changing his policy 7 years after martial law, it would be the end of his career.

[Interviewer] In what way were these August strikes different from those in April and May?

[Geremek] The strikes in April and May were an awakening. For the first time in years workers discovered that it was possible to strike without paying an exorbitant price. It was a lesson to all. At the beginning fear was a factor and so was a degree of political timidity. The demand to legalize Solidarity only appeared later. In the August strikes, Solidarity was a demand from the start. The strikes in April and May were initiated by the younger generation, including the students. This time, the sociological picture is more subtle and much more complex, and all generations were involved. Middle-aged people gave a degree of gravity to this strike. Finally, in August there was the awareness of the strike movement's strength. The strikes were stopped not at the time of greatest weakness, but at a time when the picture was looking fairly good. In the shipyards, in the port of

Gdansk, and in Stalowa Wola, thousands of workers were involved in the strikes; they were well organized, and could stand firm for several weeks. That is essential for the future.

The last important factor is that these August strikes broke out in enterprises in which there were no strikes in April and May. There is therefore a kind of rotating strike travelling through the country which involves the symbolic Lenin shipyards.

The strength of this movement does not come from its organization but from its spontaneity. This is also a danger. If nothing changes and if despair increases, then the following wave will not only be more powerful but also more spontaneous and much more determined. I see signs of insurrection in the August strikes. This shows the depth of the current Polish crisis.

Politburo Evaluates Plenum Resolution 16 Aug

AU2308154688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—On 16 August, the Politburo continued to evaluate the implementation of the seventh plenum resolution by voivodship party organizations.

It discussed the performance of party organizations in Lublin, Poznan, and Radom in the presence of their first secretaries and some Central Committee members connected with these organizations.

Market imbalance continues to strongly affect the moods of people, who are critical of the flow of goods and the performance of trade and services. Some enterprises are suffering from shortages of materials, and this makes the work force bitter, because it is unable to increase is earnings.

The Politburo stressed that party activities must be more militant and energetic and that people may go on vacations, but the party may not. Seventh plenum decisions must be realized without any delay through persevering efforts at every level and by each PZPR echelon, which must respond sharply to every shortcoming, evasion of responsibility, and neglect of duty.

The party must conduct continuous dialogue with the work force, listen to its views, and eliminate any disputes, which at times are caused by even small irregularities that may easily be removed. Problems reported by the work force must be examined once again and the ways of settling them must be explained in detail.

It happens that selfish group interests are given priority to the detriment of national interests. The voice of the work force should be a starting point for settling disputes and difficult problems in a reasonable way, one that satisfies state and economic requirements and the potential of plants. Wage increases that are not backed by increases in production and productivity must not be carried out. The strike blackmail, which is accompanied by appeals to create the situation that existed years ago and amounted to the complete disorganization of the country's life, will only intensify economic difficulties and hinder reforms and national accord. In addition, the regrettable incidents that disturb production prolong efforts to restore normal economic relations with foreign countries.

The defense of the people's basic interests is the most important duty of the party and the authorities of the socialist state. There must be no return to anarchy and to past structures.

Talks with workers are valuable sources of knowledge about the problems agitating citizens and make it easier to explain the party's stand and to check on the implementation of previous decisions.

The Politburo stressed that party work is still beset by many weaknesses, including rigidity in approaching many local and plant problems. That work shows too few useful initiatives to stimulate the militancy of party members and people in general. Its goals and the addressees are too general. Party work is often vague and is without individual character, one that is better adapted to the expectations of the working people, especially young people.

The party should react most sensitively at every level to people's hardships and to the shortcomings, which are at times glaring, of the performance of some offices, public services, trade, general services, and other public institutions. This performance must improve. Responsibility for the fulfillment of this task must not be laid only at the door of the central institutions. This improvement can be effected much more speedily and effectively at the local level. The party's local bodies should indicate how this improvement can be effected. Much more decisive activities are needed in this regard.

The practice still continues of avoiding to name those who are responsible for negligence, errors, ineffective decisions, chaos, and acts of neglect in trade and in units offering services for people. Party echelons, state and economic administration, and cooperative authorities, especially those at the voivodship level, must not be tolerant in such cases and must not avoid resolute and even sharp personnel measures.

The party must support trade union organizations as representatives of workers' interests and should facilitate harmonious cooperation between managements and self-management groups of the work force. Party members active in workers', territorial, and cooperative self-management bodies and in trade unions should show more militancy.

The seventh party plenum made a critical appraisal of some solutions and methods by which the second stage of the economic reform is being realized. The study of

the necessary modifications of the reform, especially in the area of prices and incomes, is continuing with the help of the economic results of the first 6 months of this year. The coming eighth party plenum will thoroughly review the living conditions of the working people. However, even the best economic solutions and legal-organizational mechanism will fail if the working people do not participate actively and universally in realizing the second stage of the economic reform. Primary party organizations should foster the conviction that radical economic reforms serve the people in the final reckoning and will help to improve the quality of their lives in the near future.

The Politburo takes the view that there are still many primary party organizations that fail to display the necessary initiative in plants, wait for instructions from above, and are not militant enough in addressing difficult problems of the work force and communities.

The Politburo stressed that party cells and members should watch over the realization of resolutions and decisions and evaluate the ways and results of this realization. They should show interest in the correct implementation of personnel policy, housing construction, the increased production of consumer goods, the quality of goods, the certification of jobs, conservation of fuels and energy, inventiveness, and rationalization. It is necessary to create effective systems of propagating good models and practical knowledge, especially in those areas.

Problems of ecology and of improving the natural environment should be given great, continuous attention. The Politburo will devote one of its coming sessions to these problems.

Teams of worker-peasant inspections should check on the living and rest conditions in workers hotels and hostels countrywide. The most experienced party aktivs should help in this task.

The Politburo noted that in the voivodships under review the numerical strength and political militancy of primary party organizations continue to increase. Newly admitted members include more workers and peasants. Most party organizations in Poznan admitted party candidates, the majority of whom are workers below 30. The ratio of vocationally active workers who are party members is rather high. In Radom Voivodship, members of youth organizations account for almost 50 percent of candidates admitted into the PZPR. Most primary party organizations in Lublin, Poznan, and Radom Voivodships continue to operate effectively in their communities. This helps to create the front of social understanding and support for the reform.

At the same time, the Politburo pointed out the shortcomings in the political work of voivodship party organizations. The most conspicuous of these is the fluctuating degree of energy displayed by different primary bodies. In Radom and Lublin Voivodships, over half of all primary bodies failed to enroll a single candidate member in 1987. The party in these voivodships should make an immediate effort to distribute its forces evenly among all the communities. In Radom Voivodship, as much as 40.9 percent of large villages do not have primary party bodies.

The voivodship party committees of Radom and Lublin should pay more attention to political work among working people. The number of working people belonging to them is incommensurate with needs and possibilities.

The Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee should also concentrate more on political work with young people. Not many PZPR candidate members come from their ranks. The situation in Poznan and Radom Voivodships is the same, though to a lesser extent.

There was a rise in industrial output in the voivodships in question. In Lublin it was the highest, 9 percent. Poznan Voivodship has been one of the top agricultural producers for years.

The housing construction plans in Poznan and Radom Voivodships were slightly exceeded, and in Lublin the plan was underfulfilled by a mere fraction of a percent. The Politburo noted that the value of social pledges in Lublin and Poznan Voivodships was incommensurate with needs and possibilities.

In compliance with the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Plenum, voivodship committees must make sure that work posts that determine the success of the reform are manned by the best and most experienced workers, as well as by more and more young party and nonparty people.

Increasing use should be made of the cadres reserve formed by party committees. In Poznan Voivodship, only 43.9 percent of the leadership cadres have been taken from the reserve.

The Politburo heard a report on summer vacations spent by working people, adolescents, and children. It is estimated that in the first part of the season, tourist traffic was the same as last year. Almost 1.7 million people availed themselves of organized forms of vacation by the end of July. Over 1.5 million people went on tourist excursions in Poland, and about 400,000 went on such excursions abroad.

A considerable portion of factory social funds is used to pay for summer vacations. Guaranteeing vacations for as many children and young people as possible is a major objective of the social policy of the party and socialist state.

In view of the major increase in the costs of vacationing, it is disturbing that so few workers and farmers are taking organized forms of vacation, said the Politburo. The frequency of vacations continues to depend on the financial situation of the family. Nevertheless, efficient plants provide their employees with many attractive forms of vacation, and could subsidize costs so that the expense of a vacation might not be felt so keenly.

By the end of July, some 1.9 million children and young people had taken organized forms of vacation, 60 percent of the planned amount. Over 1 million went to summer camp, whereas 900,000 enjoyed an organized vacation where they live. So far, over 4,500 young people have stayed in the "Vanguard 21st Century" camps.

Summer vacationing frequently involves a patriotic education for children and young people. These activities are often unconventional, and there are interesting talks on ideological-educational matters. Members of central and regional party and state authorities often visit young people in their camps.

The generally positive assessment of this year's summer vacations for working people does not free their organizers of the duty to guarantee proper hygiene, medical care, safety, and a variety of recreation during the remainder of the holiday period.

The Politburo recalled that last year, the standard of hygiene was unsatisfactory in eight voivodships, namely: Chelm, Elblag, Kalisz, Krosno, Przemysl, Suwalki, Wloclawek, and Zamosc.

There has been a considerable improvement in hygiene since the "Spring 88" inspections, but this improvement is too slow. Regional authorities merely carry out campaigns, and are insufficiently sensitive to affairs of hygiene. Inspections by the State Sanitary Inspectorate are continuing, as part of the "Healthy Summer" operation. The Politburo will view the results of this operation and will draw the appropriate conclusions.

The Politburo heard a report on the final preparations for Polish sportsmen to take part in the olympics in Seoul. The Politburo conveyed to our country's forthcoming representatives and to their trainers and managers wishes for success and a dignified attitude in this most important of sporting competitions.

The Politburo heard another report on the results of this year's harvest. The harvest is almost complete in all voivodships. Some 85 percent of the grain was gathered by the middle of August, and all the rape had been procured. Large areas of grain plantations still remain to be harvested in the voivodships of Jelenia Gora, Walbrzych, Elblag, Gdansk, Olsztyn, and Suwalki. The procurement of grain, which is ripe and dry, is generally proceeding without any major setbacks.

Following their visits to the field and their talks with farmers last week, members of the party leadership confirm that service has improved at procurement points and that the agricultural supply base is generally more efficient. This is due to more careful preparation and major investments by the organizations responsible for procuring grain and rape. The weather was also helpful.

Longer waiting periods occur mainly in procurement points in southeast Poland and lower Silesia, in other words, in places where the network of storage facilities and procurement points run by rural districts is not so extensive. At the same time, a better organization of procurement is required in these areas.

The yield of grain crops this year, which in many voivodships is the same and even higher than last year, confirms the need to expand the area of intensive and winter crops.

The Politburo repeated the importance of having rational management of all the crops and their proper use in the development of breeding and food production.

Expressing its satisfaction with the harvest, the Politburo addresses words of recognition to all people in agriculture.

Aftermath of August 1980 Assessed

AU3108135488 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 27 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[Article by Jacek Poprzeczko, deputy head editor of POLITYKA: "Poland Is Waiting for Understanding!—August"]

[Excerpts] So much has happened in these 8 years since August 1980! And collective memory has recorded so many various events. [passage omitted] This year's August is again heating up, which is not really surprising, because signs of social unrest have been visible for some months now. The economic situation is difficult, and unresolved political problems are also exerting pressure. Solutions are becoming a matter of urgency.

What stage of events have we now reached? How should we view the experience of August 1980 and all the events after it? How should we view the future? [passage omitted]

There are reasons to assume that the chance produced by August 1980 has not been completely wasted, but we must view this chance in a different way—with greater calm and attention. The lapse of time favors such an approach. It does not seem that the present time is right to focus our attention on the general shape of the "Polish model" as something specific and unusual, and almost something of an example for the world, or at least some part of it, to follow. Such an approach was natural in those days when the eyes of the world were really focused

on Poland, when our events and changes were of an unusual and pioneering nature, and when the great social experiment was developing at lightning speed.

Today the world's gaze is primarily directed to our eastern neighbors [sasiadow], and it is probable that if the world looks at us at all, then it is with a mixture of anxiety and pity. We are no longer at the head of change. Our democratic aspirations and our efforts to occupy a worthy place in the international community are perhaps being watched with understanding, but this is a cool understanding, one resulting from the fact that these efforts are in a way suspended in the air, because they have no solid economic basis. [passage omitted]

August 1980 was a turning point and a date in history but, at the same time, it was only the beginning of the breakthrough conceived as a process of changes, one that must develop as time goes by.

What stage of that process have we now reached? Where has that process progressed and where has it been stopped?

The present strikes have entered their second week in Silesia and the maritime areas. Signs of social unrest are multiplying and constitute eloquent testimony to the fact that we are still facing certain barriers which we thought we had overcome 8 years ago, or would be able to overcome quickly. These are economic and political barriers. Is it possible to overcome them in August 1988? To what extent is our present situation better and to what extent more difficult than in 1980?

The most important task we have not ben able to achieve was crossing the "threshold of effectiveness" of the economic reform. No doubt, much has been changed in our economy and, for example, we cannot deny that enterprises have gained more independence. We now have an economic system that is quite different from the previous command system, but this new system is still not a system that makes it possible to fully exploit the entire potential of the economy and to promote initiative. I think that this is because the setup of central bureaucratic management still exists, except that it uses different methods—mainly indirect fiscal methods instead of direct command. The absence of a radical fiscal reform is responsible for the fact that those methods are really not very effective. All in all, our economy is neither a market economy in the full meaning of the word, nor a truly planned economy. Central management is inefficient and the independence of enterprises is limited. [passage omitted] Eight years are enough to develop and test a new model of the economy. Yes, we have developed and tested a certain model in the past 8 years, but this new model is a modified version of the old model. One more attempt has been made in the hope that perhaps something new could be achieved, but in the old way. This attempt has failed, and everything shows that the old system set up as long ago as the fifties has exhausted the ultimate opportunities for its internal evolution. [passage omitted]

Despite everything, the changes that have been carried out in the past 8 years have brought us closer to the point at which we could switch over from the system of central bureaucratic management to the system of the controlled market economy. Some people fear that this will amount to switching over from socialism to capitalism, but I hope that such a switch will amount to abandoning Stalinism in favor of democratic socialism.

One constructive quality of socialism is its ability to manage economic processes. Socialism is a system in which people dominate the economy and not vice versa. But it is a fact that socialism in its present form has not demonstrated that quality. The incidence of uncontrolled economic processes has been very high, and the working people's alienation, which the classics predicted would disappear in the new system, has remained.

One reason for that was the fact that planning was pitted against the market in line with the precepts of "scientific socialism." The classics' idea of how to rule the economy was very simple: They wanted to do this by eliminating the market. Still, they also professed the principle that practice is the ultimate criterion of the truthfulness of every theory. Practice has demonstrated that the elimination of the market and its mechanisms eliminates the possibility of effectively running economic processes. Today we know, or at least we should know, that only in the market economy is it possible to run economic processes effectively and sensibly. Whether this economy will be a socialist economy depends on who controls it with what methods and in whose interest. [passage omitted]

A political breakthrough is an enormous task, but I think that we are better prepared for it in many ways than was the case 8 years ago, and one reason for this has been the changes in the past 8 years.

Such a breakthrough is a difficult task, one that cannot be accomplished without people's approval, because of the social sacrifices involved. This is where the issues of the "anticrisis pact" or of the "proreform coalition" come in. "The social contracts" concluded in August 1980 also attempted to set up such a pact or coalition. In making the present attempt, we are richer by the experience of the past 8 years. We can again see that August 1980 was only the beginning of the breakthrough. Changes in our political system must be no less radical than those in our economic system, and these changes apply to all elements of the political system, primarily to the party that is in charge of it. The present discussions in the PZPR, especially those at the seventh plenum, show that the party is aware of the need for such changes and is trying to define them. Watching this from the outside as a member of the "largest party in Poland—the party of nonparty people," I can only say that advocates

of radical political and economic reforms seem now to occupy (also for "external reasons") a stronger and better position in the PZPR than was the case in 1980. [passage omitted]

Thanks to much greater openness in political life, in our country it is already possible to express rather freely various convictions and concepts that reflect the real pluralism of the Polish people.

This creates sufficiently suitable conditions for our dialogue to develop much more intensively than hitherto. Strikes and other forms of social unrest necessarily make one fear that a breakdown may occur instead of dialogue. This is an additional and extremely strong argument in favor of developing our dialogue and making it a genuine dialogue. No side must assume that it has a monopoly on being right.

Our dialogue should also be candid and open and should avoid "alternative problems," that is, problems that make it difficult to consider the merits of issues. I think that trade union pluralism is one such "alternative problem," especially in the form in which it is being presented now. This problem seems to greatly block progress in our dialogue. What is really at stake? Does it really matter that the existence of various trade unions in a plant will create competition in exerting pressure for wage increases? The history of trade unionism in various countries has proved the weakness of that argument. The crux of the dispute is much more serious. On the one hand, that dispute results from fear that under our conditions the trade union movement will turn into a destructive political force. On the other hand, that dispute results from the conviction that there can be no real partnership in dialogue without a "genuine trade union movement."

I think that the entire issue of "trade union pluralism" has become an alternative problem under our conditions, and that the general forms of political pluralism as well as opportunities and restrictions in this regard are the real problem.

The post-August period produced dualism instead of pluralism—the confrontation of two separated forces—and this resulted in a severe conflict, which ended in martial law. Solidarity changed from a trade union into a "general political" movement, because under conditions of social disarray there was, despite efforts, actually no room for the two sides to continue "normal" political activities. At present, efforts are being intensified to enlarge the scope within which the Polish people's political pluralism could be expressed. This calls for energetic but prudent activities that make allowances for all real aspects of our complicated situation.

It seems that the problem of "trade union pluralism" can be effectively solved only under conditions of a gradual (but not slow) evolution of our entire political and economic system. Such an evolution is already taking place and is being backed by specific proposals, including those put forward by the party in power. If a broader field is created for proper political activities, the pressure to make trade unions "political" will disappear. Trade unions will then be able to really tackle trade union problems, of which there will be quite a lot. [passage omitted]

We continue to yearn for normal conditions in which the economy is the economy, and not an area of total confrontation or political experiments; in which politics is politics; elections are elections; money is money; and chocolate is chocolate, and not a "chocolate-like product." August 1980 was a protest against abnormal conditions and against degenerations in our life. We must not waste the chance created by the August of 8 years ago.

However, how are we to solve the urgent conflict so that it does not explode again in the future? [passage omitted] I think that everyone yearns for a political solution to the conflict, a solution that would not only make it possible to conclude an accord with striking workers, but would also eliminate or at least weaken the basic causes of tensions. We need resolute measures which would make credible the implementation of a radical economic and political reform. We must reach a quick understanding on those measures.

However, insofar as dialogue and accord are concerned, we must have partners to them, so that the true pluralism of the Polish people can be represented. This dialogue should be organized in such a way and its participants chosen in such a way that those who resort to the weapon of illegal strikes can also be deemed to be represented in it and can gain the conviction that, after all, it is possible to try another tack—one that is more effective.

PAP Responds to RFE Criticism of State

LD1808210788 Warsaw PAP in English 1513 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 18—Radio Free Europe commentator Alina Grabowska ventured an opinion (on August 15th specifically) that the "Ruling team in Poland has no social forces from which to draw support."

It is not the first time that Radio Free Europe accepts their own wishful thinking as reality. Meanwhile, judging from public opinion polls, the situation of Polish ruling team is not all that dramatic as the propagandist of Radio Free Europe would like to see it. Just the opposite.

When the position and public trust in Wojciech Jaruzelski was polled last August, he received 74 percent of affirmative responses. Similar results were obtained by the end of 1987 when 73 percent of the respondents expressed a conviction that Wojciech Jaruzelski's activities served well society and were consistent with their interests.

Published last June, the data evaluating degree of support for reforms of socialism showed that respondents had again given top marks Wojciech Jaruzelski. The number of answers in which Lech Walesa and people of similar views were considered opponents of reforms reached nearly 29 percent.

And finally, according to yet another data of the Centre for Public Opinion Research as quoted by the government spokesman at a press confernece earlier this month, 77 percent of adult Poles voice such opinions about the system of government which are consistent or approximately convergent with the assessment of the authorities themselves who perceive a need for far-reaching transformations.

'Political Thought' Club Statement on Situation

LD2708082788 Warsaw PAP in English
0010 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 26—Temporary board of the "Dziekania" Political Thought Club passed a statement to PAP, in which we read:

"Poland has again been swept by a wave of public protests, our (?country enters) a new, serious political climax. The present situation requires the analysis and vision of combat against the dramatic crisis troubling this country. It should be expected that in the name of national interest, there will be initiated dialogue between the government and the active social and political centres which represent public opinion of this country. Like perhaps never before, the national push for restructuring of the state is accompanied by favourable international setting. Being aware of its positive significance for Poland we approach with full responsibility the cluster of these questions. It is a chance for both sides of the conflict in Poland," reads the statement.

New Associations Formed in Gdansk Province

LD1908222788 Warsaw PAP in English
2149 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 19.—An increasingly noticeable phenomenon in the Gdansk Province is the growing number of newly-created associations, organizations of social, cultural, or economic character, in various fields developing activities responding to the needs of various social circles and groups.

There were 11 new associations and branches of already existing organisations registered last year, while this year the official go-ahead was given to 5 associations.

The aim of our association is development and promotion of enterprise, creative attitudes, innovation, social and economic activity, shaping the ethics of good work, providing conditions, methods, and means for the achievement of efficiency and effectiveness in all fields of social and economic life, said chairman of a newly-created association "Enterprise-Progess-Affluence" Wieslaw Kozyra.

The association has not grown from official inspiration but in completely without it as a protest against passiveness, indolence, and futility. [sentence as received] We soon begin economic activity consisting in training in subjects related to economy, especially enterprise.

One of the 36 founding-members of the newly-born Catholic Intelligentisa Club KIK in Gdansk is a journalist well-known in this area Tadeusz Bolduan. According to the statute, the aim of this association is to get together people identifying themselves with the Catholic social doctrine and run intellectual, moral, educational, and cultural work among them. Summing up, shaping the human being and citizen aware of his individual and social duties. [sentence as received] We expect scientists, artists, physicians, engineers, and businessmen to contribute to the work of our club, especially young university leavers. The KIK is also an opportunity for non-party people having no links with any political organizations but wishing to try their hand in public work. This offers broad field for activity.

We can see the purposefulness of spreading tolerance as one of the basic directions in our work. Atheists, many of whom originate from artistic circles, also happen to be among the club associates. We by no means intend to play the role of an opposition party. Neither are we dependent on the church hierarchy, despite the convergence of our basic aims, he said.

Jelenia Gora Defense Committee Meets

LD2508174688 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] A session of the voivodship Defense Committee took place yesterday in Jelenia Gora. Its proceedings were chaired by its chairman Sylwester (?Szamol). Taking part in the session was Jerzy Golaclzynski, first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Jelenia Gora. The sociopolitical situation and law and public order in Jelenia Gora Voivodship were appraised. A report on supplies and trade in the voivodship during the period of intensified tourist traffic was examined. Appropriate findings and conclusions aimed at improving the situation were made on all subject under discussion.

Army Officer on Deferment on Draft

AU2908124388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
24 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP interview with Colonel Jan Stachurski of the Polish Army General Staff: "Voluntary Separation from Employment Cancels the Deferrment of Military Service"—reporter unidentified, date and place not given]

[Text] [PAP] Draftees employed in some work places, including mines, have their military service deferred. What happens if a young man terminates his employment himself?

[Stachurski] Deferrments are granted on account of one's occupation and on the basis of article 37 of the law on the general duty to defend the PPR, which says: "Deferrments can be granted on account of one's employment in a state enterprise which fulfills particularly important production tasks. The Council of Ministers establishes by means of a decree the particular conditions and rules governing deferrments, and establishes the maximum number of draftees whose military service can be deferred in any one year for the above reasons, together with the occupations and spheres in which deferrments can be granted."

Deferrments on account of one's occupation are granted for a period of 1 year, but no longer than the end of the calendar year in which the draftee reaches 23 years of age.

But such deferrments are not issued to draftees who are not actually employed at a post which qualifies for a deferrment. And finally, work places are obliged to inform the relevant military command within 7 days about any separation from employment by a draftee who was previously granted a deferrment on account of his occupation.

Thus, if a draftee resigns, his deferrment is canceled. The appropriate military command is the body that deals with such cases.

[PAP] What happens to those who enjoy deferrments and take part in illegal strikes at the same time?

[Stachurski] We will act according to the law.

[PAP] When can a deferrment be canceled?

[Stachurski] When a work place informs the military command of a draftees' separation from employment. Moving to a new job which does not qualify for a deferrment is sufficient reason to cancel a deferrment granted on account of one's occupation.

More on Arrest of Strzelecki's Murderers

LD2508204688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] On the recommendation of the Warsaw Office of Internal Affairs (USW), the Voivodship prosecutor in Warsaw has applied temporary arrest to the men suspected of killing docent Jan Strzelecki. They are inhabitants of the Drobin Parish in Plock Voivodship: 24-year-old Krzysztof Chroboczynski and 18-year-old Marek Marzec. The suspects have admitted their guilt.

The prosecutor has also arrested 20-year-old Bogdan Chroboczynski who is accused of committing other criminal offenses in Warsaw.

Ceausescu Chairs Executive Committee Meeting

AU0709183188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee, on 2 September.

The meeting was attended by such guests as first secretaries of the county party committees, government members, and cadres with responsible positions in various economic sectors.

The PEC examined a set of economic questions linked to the activity aimed at fulfilling this year's plan tasks, as well as action taken and measures that are necessary to eliminate existing shortfalls and ensure the complete fulfillment of all plan indicators. Within this framework, the meeting examined a report on the plan fulfillment for August, measures for the complete fulfillment of plan provisions for September and the whole of 1988, and steps for the complete implementation of the programs for organizing and modernizing production processes in the second half year of 1988 and for preparing the proper implementation of these programs in the coming years, as well as a report on how to make products, which were non-profitable in the first half year of 1988, lucrative again.

In connection with these questions, the floor was taken by PEC members in charge of the activity in various economic sectors, by the prime minister and other government members, and by the first secretaries of some county party committees who reported on the stage of the plan fulfillment in various areas and branches of production and on the measures that have been taken to eliminate shortfalls and ensure the proper fulfillment of plan provisions for September, the third quarter, and the whole year.

On the basis of data presented, it was assessed that, although on the whole better results were achieved in August than in the same period last year, some important sectors of the economy continued to have a number of shortfalls and thus achievements did not match requirements or existing possibilities, nor did they match plan tasks. The speakers criticized the shortfalls in the activity of some ministries, coordinating councils in branches, industrial centrals, and enterprises which did not take responsible action to ensure all necessary conditions for good results in the production process and for the complete fulfillment of the plan.

Stressing that only 4 months are left up to the end of the current year, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, asked the government, the ministries, industrial centrals, and all responsible people in the economy to take firm measures immediately to radically improve all activities in September in order to recover lags, smoothly fulfill the item-specified production, and implement all plan provisions under conditions of high quality and efficiency. The speaker requested that priority attention be paid to fulfilling the export plan and to ensuring all necessary conditions for delivering all products stipulated in contracts with foreign partners on schedule and of good quality.

As for investments—where there are shortfalls as well—the speaker stressed that particular attention must be paid to speeding up the rate of construction-assembly work to put the new projects into operation upon schedule and to achieve the technical-economic indicators endorsed for all production capacities put into operation or scheduled to be put into operation.

In connection with the problems regarding the fulfillment of all plan indicators for the current year, the speaker requested that action should be intensified to make use of the machinery, equipment, and installations in industry with maximum effectiveness, to carry out quality capital repairs and general overhauling, and modernize fixed assets upon schedule, to strictly observe consumption norms for raw and other materials, for fuels, and energy, and to reduce production costs. At the same time, the speaker requested that further firm action be taken to observe planned costs for all products as stipulated in economic-financial norms, so that no product will record losses but, on the contrary, be profitable. The economic ministries and the coordinating bodies shall examine the situation of each non-profitable product separately and establish the most appropriate measures so that all products will be profitable beginning September-October.

To achieve the planned productivity in industry, construction-assembly, and transportation, the speaker requested that the measures included in the programs for organizing and modernizing the production process should be implemented with greater effectiveness and that the working time and labor force should be used more judiciously.

Endorsing the measures proposed for ensuring the complete implementation of the programs for organizing and modernizing the production process in the second half of the current year and for properly implementing these programs in the coming years, the PEC asked all ministries, economic centrals and units, and the coordinating bodies—the State Planning Committee and the National Council for Science and Technology—to move to firmly apply these measures designed to radically improve activities in all sectors, perfect technologies and manufacturing processes, increase productivity, improve product quality, substantially reduce consumption, and increase the utilization rate of all resources available in our national economy.

The party secretary general asked all economic cadres to ensure the unflinching fulfillment of the plan for the second half of the current year and for the whole year by better organizing the production process and work, by

strengthening order and discipline, and by increasing responsibility in all sectors, thus creating increasingly better conditions for implementing the 5-year plan provisions and the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the RCP National Conference.

The PEC then discussed a report on the development of prices and tariffs for the second half year of 1988.

It was emphasized that in this period prices in the economy were below planned limits, a fact that illustrates the correctness of measures worked out by the party and state leadership to ensure the stability of all prices and the sound nature of the national economy.

The PEC asked the State Committee for Prices, the State Planning Committee, financial bodies, enterprises, and people's councils to continue to work to strengthen discipline in the area of prices to perfect them and to ensure their development within planned limits.

During the meeting the PEC also examined a report on the livestock of cattle, pigs, and sheep at the end of the first half year of 1988. Compared with the 1 February 1988 census, the number of all livestock is larger and as compared with the same period last year, the number of pigs is larger while the number of cattle and sheep is smaller.

Moving from this situation and in the spirit of recommendations and tasks included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the recent working meeting on agricultural problems, the PEC asked the Ministry of Agriculture, the county agricultural bodies, socialist agricultural units, and people's councils to take most determined measures to increase livestock, particularly the livestock of cattle and sheep.

The PEC also examined a report on the application in the first half year of 1988 of the law on control over the source of illicitly acquired assets.

Moving from the situation outlined, the central and county commissions for guidance and control, the ministries, and the other central bodies with tasks in this area, as well as the units in their jurisdiction were asked to take firm measures to ensure the strict application and observance of socialist laws, of the principles of socialist ethics and equity in all areas of social life, and the protection and development of socialist ownership. The aim of all activities is to continue to create a mass opinion against tendencies of acquiring assets and incomes without work, by dishonest means, and to identify and call to account those who commit acts of corruption and speculation and those who achieve incomes for which they did not work and lead a life of parasites.

The PEC then discussed some issues of our party's and state's international activity. Within this framework, emphasis was placed in Romania's determination to intensify its activity aimed at developing economic, technical-scientific, and other cooperation among the European states and at making an active contribution to the assertion of the policy of disarmament and peace, including the successful progress of the Vienna meeting for strengthening trust, cooperation and security on the continent.

During the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented a report on his 28 August working meeting in Arad with Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The PEC fully endorsed the activity carried out on this occasion by the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and highly assessed the way in which he reiterated our party's stance on the issues discussed during that meeting which took place upon our party's initiative.

Special appreciation was expressed for the fact that during their talks the two leaders, moved from their responsibility toward their parties and peoples and from the need that the Romanian and Hungarian peoples which have lived next to each other for several centuries, developed their cooperation and friendship, jointly agreeing that for this purpose they should give pride of place to questions and areas in which they hold identical or very close positions, while in the case of more general or more specific questions, where differences of views still exist, further actions should be taken to better understand problems and to bring positions and views closer to one another.

In that context, the particular significance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's assessment during the summit dialogue was emphasized—according to which the solution of various economic, social, and cultural problems in a given country is the full responsibility of the party and government of that country and that the development of socialist construction and the trust they will enjoy with the respective people, the only judge of whether the policy promoted by the party in their country is good or not, depend on the way in which the party and government solve problems.

It was emphasized that the exchange of opinions at the summit level, which took place in an open and constructive spirit, demonstrated the joint desire to work to solve certain problems that have cropped up in Romanian-Hungarian relations and to seek ways and means to continue to expand these relations starting from the principles stipulated in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and from the interests of the two parties and the Romanian and Hungarian peoples in developing cooperation and good neighborliness to their mutual benefit and the benefit of their socioeconomic progress, of improving their material and cultural well-being, and to the benefit of socialist construction in Romania and Hungary.

The PEC assessed that the understandings arrived at open positive and extensive prospects for Romanian - Hungarian cooperation. In this sense, the fact was emphasized that during the talks the sides agreed to expand their economic and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as production sharing and specialization to a greater extent and in various forms, to expand cooperation in the area of culture, tourism, and in other areas, and to intensify contacts, exchanges of views and experience, including exchanges between journalists' organizations, in order to contribute to a better mutual knowledge and to promoting understanding and friendship between our countries and peoples.

The PEC assessed that the meeting and talks between the two leaders should give an impetus to the activity carried out by the RCP and the MSZMP, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Romanian people and Hungarian people to strengthen friendship, cooperation, and good neighborliness in the struggle for socialist construction in their countries, for progress, security, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The PEC reiterated the RCP's determination to do all it can to develop cooperation and strengthen Romanian-Hungarian friendship and expressed its conviction that this is in the interests of the two countries and peoples, of their active cooperation in the work of building the new system, of improving their standard of well-being and civilization, and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Unanimously endorsing the results of the summit meeting and the conclusions arrived at on that occasion, the PEC adopted a program of measures to ensure the implementation of the understandings arrived at and aimed at developing Romanian - Hungarian relations of friendship and cooperation.

The PEC also solved current problems of the party and state activity.

Ceausescu, Honecker Messages to Youth Meeting

AU0609125688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0956 GMT 6 Sep 88

["Friendly Meeting Between Youth Representatives of Romania and the GDR"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6/9/1988—A friendly meeting started in Bucharest on 6 September between youth representatives of Romania and of the GDR, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, sent messages of salute to the participants in the meeting printed by the Romanian press.

Dear young friends: I take great pleasure in addressing the participants in the friendly get-together between the youth representatives of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic a warm revolutionary salute and best wishes.

I think the organization of meetings between the young people of our countries is a fine opportunity for a deeper mutual acquaintance, for a fertile exchange of experiences and views on concrete modalities by which the young people, their revolutionary organizations participate with joint forces, specific to the age and ideals of the new generations, in the implementation of our parties' and countries' policy of socialist construction, of building a better and more just world, of peace and progress for the whole of mankind.

We, in Romania, assess highly and pay special attention to the relations of close collaboration on multiple planes between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, based on the principles of fully equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, observance of national independence and sovereignty, mutual esteem and advantage. In this sense, I am very pleased to recall on this occasion as well, the fine relations existing between our party and state leaderships. My meetings with Comrade Erich Honecker, the fertile understandings we reached during every talk have given powerful impetus to our collaboration, both on a bilateral plane and in international arena.

I am sure, dear young friends, that the youth organizations in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, the young generation, will make their full contribution to the multilateral development of these relations, to the continued deepening of our countries' friendship, collaboration and solidarity, which accords with the interests of both countries and peoples, also serving the cause of peace, collaboration and understanding of all nations.

Dear young friends, this friendly meeting takes place at a time when, although some steps have been taken toward the improvement of the relations in the world arena, international life keeps recording very grave and complex issues. As a consequence of the continued arms race, of the sophistication and development of new nuclear weapons, of the maintenance of the conflicts and states of tension in various zones of the planet, of the effects of the world economic crisis that are ever more powerfully felt, especially by the developing countries, powerful contradictions are maintained and manifest in the world, that affect not only the present, but also the future of the peoples, endangering the very existence of life on the earth.

Together with their peoples, the youth must most energetically say a resolute no to arming and war, for the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament—nuclear above all—for the affirmation of the sacred right of the peoples, of the generations of today and tomorrow—to peace, to free, independent and dignified existence.

As a matter of fact, the consequences of the grave and complex situation of the world today are most powerfully felt precisely by the young people. There are numerous countries where millions of children and youth are roofless, suffer from diseases and poverty, are deprived from the elementary right to enjoy the lights of science and culture, look in vain for a job, are completely prospectless.

Romania steadily and firmly campaigns for all states and governments of the world to heed more the young people's life and problems, for the young people to be able to see their aspirations after developing and accomplishing themselves in full freedom fulfilled, enjoying unhampered the gains of modern civilization, without fear of becoming the victims of a devastating nuclear war.

Within our party and state's humanist policy we give pride of place to the securing of the fundamental human rights—the right to work, to instruction, education and culture, in a climate of security, quiet and peace, we ensure conditions for the young people to grow up, live, work and take action in society as new men, with lofty patriotic, revolutionary conscience, with conceptions and thought equal to the gains of the modern technical-scientific revolution, to the bright ideals of socialism and communism. I am confident, dear young people, that within the fine relations between our parties and countries, the youth in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, their revolutionary organizations will collaborate ever more closely, in a lofty spirit of friendship and solidarity, making together an ever more important contribution to the cause of socialism, of the good understanding in Europe and the world over, to the cause of disarmament, security and peace.

With this confidence, I wish the friendly get-together between the youth representatives of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic full success and I wish you all ever greater achievements in work and life, the accomplishment of all your aspirations after the better, after living in a world of peace and collaboration, of freedom, independence and progress of all nations.

I wish you all good health and happiness.

Nicolae Ceausescu

Chairman Erich Honecker's message:

Dear friends, members of the Union of Communist Youth, dear members of the Free German Youth: On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic I extend the warmest greetings to the friendly meeting between representatives of the youth of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Youth of the German Democratic Republic.

We are convinced that the meeting will brilliantly continue the traditional bonds of friendship and brotherly cooperation between our peoples. In the spirit of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, signed on 12 May 1972 and founded on the principles of socialist internationalism, this meeting will give fresh impetus to the further deepening of the relations between the Free German Youth and the Union of Communist Youth of Romania, between youths in the German Democratic Republic and youths in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

During the many meetings, seminars and discussions that you will have in the days ahead, you will exchange experience on how the socialist youth organizations in our brotherly countries supply factual evidence, by implementing the decisions of the Eleventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the Thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, of their being active participants in the building of the socialist society, an aid in struggle as well as a reserve of their Marxist-Leninist parties.

Youths of our countries meet at a time when positive developments in international life are shaping up. The treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles concluded between the USSR and the USA is a first important step in the direction of disarmament, detente and the improvement of the international atmosphere, of building a nuclear-free world.

As the latest session of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries showed, the socialist countries will spare no effort also in future to make the new trend to disarmament irreversible and new concrete steps be taken on that line as soon as possible. This friendly meeting will show the determination and readiness of the Free German Youth and of the Union of Communist Youth of Romania to commit all their energies to a peaceful future of the generations today and tomorrow.

We trust this friendly meeting will have a new and significant impact on the international movement of the democratic youth for peace, friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity as part of the preparations being made around the world for the Thirteenth World Youth and Student Festival in Pyongyang in 1989.

I wish much success to the friendly meeting between representatives of the youth of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the youth of the German Democratic Republic. May it bring unforgettable experiences, interesting discussions and unfading memories to all participants and to their Romanian hosts.

Ceausescu Meets Peruvian Foreign Trade Offical

AU0109124788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1244 GMT 1 Sep 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the President of the Foreign Trade Institute of the Republic of Peru"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/09/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Thursday Enrique Corenjo Ramirez, president of the Foreign Trade Institute of the Republic of Peru, who paid a visit to Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over a message from the president of the Republic Peru, Alan Garcia Perez, being also conveyed cordial greetings, wishes of good health and success in his activity.

Thanking, the Romanian head of state conveyed the president of the Republic of Peru his warm salute as well as best wishes.

During the interview questions were approached related to the Romanian - Peruvian ties, with emphasis on the possibilities to further develop economic collaboration and cooperation in various domains of joint interest, on the basis of long-term agreements, apt to give perspective and stability to bilateral relations. It was assessed that that benefited both countries and peoples, the cause of peace and understanding among nations.

The exchange of opinions on questions concerning the international situation evinced the need for stepped-up efforts toward achieving disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, consolidating peace, globally settling the problems of underdevelopment, including the developing countries' foreign debts, and building a new world economic order.

The interview was attended by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Present was the charge d'affaires ad-interim of the Republic of Peru in Bucharest, Jesus Carranza.

Daily Cited on Need for Strategic Arsenals Cuts

AU1808130488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1156 GMT 18 Aug 88

["Substantial Offensive Strategic Arsenals Cuts—a Decisive S on the Path of Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/8/1988—With the first round of on-site inspection to verify the place, number and type of medium and shorter-range missiles that are to be removed according to the Soviet-American INF Treaty fully under way, newspaper "SCINTEIA" of 18 August carries a commentary showing that like measures which are in line with the treaty are regarded with satisfaction by international public opinion which rightly assesses the elimination of these two classes of nuclear arms as a highly significant action that meets the interests of all peoples. Nevertheless, the newspaper says, it should not be overlooked that this is just a small step—as Romania and other countries noted from the very beginning—and that the missiles to be scrapped account for a very low percentage—of just 3-4 points—of the world arsenals of missiles, and that the treaty stipulates that only the body and launching systems of missiles are to be destroyed, not their nuclear warheads which can be used elsewhere. It can be said that the spectre of an atomic holocaust has not disappeared, it continues to threaten mankind.

This danger is directly linked first of all to the existence of strategic nuclear systems whose tremendous destruction potential, supersonic speed, intercontinental range of action and extreme precision make them the most dreaded of all arms, the weapon of weapons which can bring unimaginable damage, the commentary goes on.

Under these circumstances, the significance of the ongoing Soviet-American talks in Geneva the aim of which is to halve the strategic nuclear arsenals of both sides is only too easy to grasp, and public opinion everywhere supports their early conclusion.

It is precisely these aspects, the newspaper shows, that President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania had in mind when he said in an exposition that was adopted as the theses for an upcoming plenum of the CC of the RCP that the future of mankind is linked to "the demand for the removal of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, for independent development, for peace and progress for all world nations."

Emphasising the urgent character of drastic reductions of such means of extermination, to which humanity as a whole may fall victim, "SCINTEIA" says that the technical-military problems awaiting solution are neither simple nor easy. The setting of limits to offensive strategic means calls for appropriate measures also in the direction of defensive means, including those considered in the star wars programme.

Things are further complicated by the growing role lately of long-range cruise missiles aboard surface ships but especially submarines, and which, flying at a very low altitude, have the additional advantage over submarine-based ballistic missiles that can go undetected by radar. Long-range cruise missiles are regarded as the main obstacle in the path of negotiations now, says the commentary, and efforts should concentrate in that direction in order that this small "leak" may not sink the great "ship" of negotiations.

For all these difficulties, the Romanian newspaper says, the experience of medium-and shorter-range missile talks shows that if a concessive spirit and realistic, constructive positions prevail, the present obstacles may

be removed, the points of view may be brought closer to one another and a decisive step can be taken toward removing fully and forever the threat of a planetary cataclysm.

For this highly mobilizing aim to be translated into life, it is more necessary than ever that all countries and all peoples, the realistic forces everywhere step up their efforts to take mankind into the new millenium relieved of the nightmare of a nuclear disaster. As part of these forces, Romania is determined to take action as consistently as it has done till now, "SCINTEIA" winds up.

Developmental Investments in Counties Reviewed
AU0109153288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1442 GMT 1 Sep 88

["Investments for the Development of Counties"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/09/1988—The decisive economic lever in implementing the policy of a harmonious distribution of production forces in the territory, systematically applied in Romania, is the controlled investment effort. In the 1966 - 1985 interval, more than 3,000 billion lei were invested in the national economy. To make a comparison, significant is the fact that, from an annual average of 24 billion lei registered over 1950 - 1965, the investments in the national economy reached an annual average of 150 billion lei in the next two decades, more than 80 per cent of the existing fixed assets being achieved in this period of time. Investments were streamlined with priority toward the less developed counties: of the 23 counties which, in the 1965 - 1985 interval, saw a growth rate that topped the national average, 15 had a low economic potential. Whereas in the national economy as a whole investments in the socialist sector increased 4.6 times, counties like Satu-Mare, Vaslui, Tulcea, Giurgiu, Dimovita, Salaj, Mehedinti, Gorj, Vilcea, Covasna, Bistrita-Nasaud registered growths between 7.3 and 12 times.

More than half of the total investments were channelled to industry, with a differentiated share by counties. In the last 23 years some 180 new industrial districts were built concurrently with the development of the ones in place. Over 1966-1985 the overall industrial output grew 6.2 times at an average annual rate of 9.5 per cent.

The structure of such a growth is significant for the policy of balanced development of the economy in the territory: in a number of counties with a lower industrial potential considerably higher increases were achieved, namely 10 - 22 times in Arges, Bistrita-Nasaud, Galati, Buzau, Galati, Iasi, Olt, Salaj, Tulcea, Vaslui and Vilcea Counties, and 7.8 - 9.9 times in Botosani, Calarasi, Covasna, Dimbovita, Dolj, Gorj, Ialomita, Satu Mare, Teleorman and Vrancea Counties. The share of the above-mentioned counties in the country's industrial production rose from 20.9 per cent in 1965 to 34.5 per cent in 1985. As for the volume of economic activity per inhabitant, the number of counties that achieved up to 80,000 lei dropped from 41 in 1968 to 2 in 1988, 39 counties exceeding this level at present.

The growing share of industry in the economy of each county was paralleled by the improvement of the industrial production by branches through the priority development of the branches and sub-branches bearing technical progress. In 1985 metallurgy, machine building and chemistry held an over 50-per cent share in the industrial production of 18 counties, compared to only five counties in 1965. The contribution of Arges, Bacau, Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Buzau, Covasna, Dimbovita, Harghita, Olt and Teleorman Counties to the production of the machine-building industry grew from 7.5 per cent in 1965 to 17.4 per cent in 1985, while that of arges, Buzau, Dolj, Ialomita, Neamt, Teleorman, Tulcea and Vilcea Counties to the production of the chemical industry was of 31 per cent in 1985 as to 10.5 per cent in 1965.

This investment policy which shows a genuine ethics of economic growth has brought about multifarious social consequences. Noteworthy in this respect is that in the 1965 - 1988 interval more than 3.5 million new work places were created. The weight of the active population in industry and in the other non-agricultural branches increased from 48.5 per cent in 1965 to 72 per cent now, while the urbanization degree from 33.7 per cent to over 50 per cent.

Trade Unions Ask Income Laws Be Amended
LD0709182988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's confederation of trade unions asked from the government here today to propose amendments as soon as possible to the federal law on limiting pays so as to have workers motivated to produce better.

In the confederation's assessments, this restrictive law passed last May as part of the government measures for economic recovery is the chief cause of a drastic fall in earnings in Yugoslavia and a more and more critical material situation of the overwhelming part of Yugoslav workers.

The confederation's presidency asked from the federal parliament to obligate the federal government to make up a program for setting aside less money in contribution from enterprises' and workers' earnings and a national saving program.

In the opinion of the confederation's leadership, it is necessary to add social welfare measures to the outline of economic reform. The system of linear compensations is not an adequate solution since it does not help enough the most affected people, it was evaluated.

Therefore, it was proposed that Yugoslavia's constituent republics and provinces fix a bottom limit for an average family's all-in income as the basic criterium for compensations. Means for this purpose must not be provided by way of further burdening the national economy, it was emphasized.

Slovenia Hesitates Over Kosovo Protest Rallies
LD0709181788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, September 7 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian party leadership (Yugoslavia's most developed republic) has not yet voiced a decisive stand on rallies of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The rallies were recently organized in numerous towns across the country because of brutal attacks by Albanian chauvinists and separatists against the non-Albanian population of Kosovo.

A statement from the September 1 session of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) published today, says that "rallies as a form of expressing dissatisfaction, cannot be banned as long as they remain within the boundaries of the Constitution and law while their causes are neglected."

The statement said that it is necessary to assess the ideological and political starting points of these rallies and if they are only a form of manipulating people.

Heated debates on the character of the rallies are currently under way in Yugoslavia.

While some think that they only further deepen national conflicts, others stress that in a situation where legal institutions are inefficient, rallies are the only way of "forcing" the country's political factors and executive bodies of authority to solve the Kosovo problem.

Explaining some of its reservations on the holding of a solidarity rally in Ljubljana at the demand of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Slovenia's party leadership said it was not a question of fear at being faced with the seriousness of Kosovo' realities or an unpreparedness to take on part of the responsibilities at overcoming them, but that it was a question of thinking out ways of finding efficient political solutions to the Kosovo drama, and not those which would lead to a deepening of the crisis.

The Slovenian party presidency assessed that it was necessary to inform the Slovenian public more comprehensively of the situation in Kosovo because it is often underestimated and wrongly interpreted in Slovenia.

Commentary Views Draft Constitutional Amendments
AU0709154888 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2563 25 Aug 88 p 2

[M. Drecun commentary: "Changes To Lead to the Way Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] The great interest and commitment of the working people and citizens, as well as of the respective institutions, in the constitutional changes indicates that nobody in Yugoslavia should remain uninvolved in that which leads us out of crisis, to more stable development, and to more humane life worthy of man.

After the preparation of the draft amendments and a public discussion lasting several months, the constitutional changes are now entering the stage in which the proposed amendments will be drafted.

The Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly has agreed upon the text of 33 proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution. There remain 11 amendments that have been accepted with reserve. In contrast to the 1974 Constitution, whose adoption was based on a high level of agreement and ideopolitical unity, thanks above all to the compact and homogeneous LCY, the republican and provincial differences are now one of the chief causes of the painstaking work on the constitutional amendments.

The proposed changes in the sphere of the socioeconomic system have not caused greater differences in stands. The only question that has been left uncoordinated is the one on the maximum land holding which, according to the draft amendments, can total 30 hectares per farmer. Other issues, such as the problem of social property holders [nosilac drustvenog vlasnistva], the

question of foreign investments in the domestic economy, the right to strike, and a guaranteed work place for those fired because of redundancy due to technological reasons [tehnoloski visak] were given the "green light" without greater difficulties.

In contrast to the economic system, the political system showed itself to be considerably more "difficult."

Changes in the political system, although they are not so radical as the ones in the socioeconomic sphere, are being influenced by various attitudes. Several proposals made in the public debate, such as the proposal to abolish presidencies of republics and provinces, to give foreign citizens the right to vote, to enable some enterprises in certain regions to carry out their economic operations under conditions that are not exactly in conformity with the Constitution, and the like, have been postponed until the "next stage." Attention was attracted by proposals on abolishing sociopolitical chambers, on direct elections and the secret vote, and on publicity and responsibility connected with work. Other questions that have been left open include the one on introducing the obligation to propose several candidates for all executive posts, the method of electing and appointing members of the SFRY Presidency, the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, and joint foundations of taxation policy. The proposal to expand the jurisdiction of the federal public prosecutor was given up.

Contrary to the expectations of the public and demands for a united and strong federation, the work on the amendments regulating relations in the federation has been the most sensitive one and has left a large number of questions uncoordinated. The reason for this is above all in republican and provincial divisions and in the fact that leaderships are enclosing themselves in their own regions without having any responsibility for the development of both their republic and Yugoslavia in general.

Another one of the uncoordinated questions is the provision according to which a federal law prevails over a republican one when they contradict each other until the Constitutional Court makes a decision. Here the question is: What would be left of the Federation if some republican laws have precedence over federal ones in case of a contradiction? In this stage of changes, the question of the relations between the SR of Serbia and the provinces is only partly solved. The realization of international cooperation of republics and provinces, the judiciary, security, and defense need further coordination. There are also some differences concerning decisionmaking and the structure of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the introduction of the chamber of associated labor in the assembly system.

The remaining differences are still not of such a kind that amendments to the SFRY Constitution cannot be adopted by the set deadline—29 November. The need for more radical changes, finding the way out of the crisis, and the return to the founding principle of our revolution and the existence of Yugoslavia—brotherhood and unity—are reasons for which there must not be a constitutional blockade. There is no time for haggling.

Commentary on Single-Nationality Meetings
AU0109110088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Aug 88 p 2

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "The Traps of Single-Nationality Gatherings"]

[Text] Probably as never before, the political authorities in postwar Yugoslavia are facing the open expression of a lack of confidence in their ability to manage society. If it is any comfort, this wave of destructive criticism has not (yet) spat on the state order as a whole but in some parts of the Yugoslav territory there has been a de facto legalization of the activity of forces which offer their political program and action as an alternative to the state organs, which they believe cannot carry out their duties.

The Committee of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, whose activity is without precedent in our socialist history so far, has undoubtedly gone farthest in this. Even a couple of months ago, we would have found it difficult to believe that such a thing is possible in "the political system of socialist self-management." Only recently, academic-political spears were being broken over the legitimacy of various original hobbyist-humanitarian movements, but now on the open stage we have an alternative organization which independently leads tens of thousands of people. The active-political strength of the Kosovo Committee is demonstrated most clearly by the meetings of support for Serbs and Montenegrins from the southern province, the likes of which are barely remembered by the younger and even middle generations of Yugoslavs, since they have been out of fashion in recent years. On other occasions as well (the announcement and abandonment of a meeting in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee, the agreement in the village of Prekale on the postponement of the emigration of 22 Serbian families, and so on) the Committee has unambiguously shown itself to be a body which has an undeniable influence among Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

What political and social repercussions the setting up of an alternative movement of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins may have, is a question which, even before an attempt is made at an analytical answer, creates the most varied and even unpleasant suspicions. The axiom which should also not be forgotten on this occasion is that being a multinational state is our historical destiny which cannot be avoided, no matter how "impractical" and delicate it is considered. It could be difficult for the actual transition to the principle of single nationality, and even of "single people" (Serbs and Montenegrins are two nations although from the same group of Slavic peoples) political action to achieve anything good, not even if it were provoked by a nationalist counterrevolution initiated by another "belligerent" nation and even

in spite of the fact that the initial—and subsequent—expression of the dissatisfaction of Serbs and Montenegrins had the character of a totally justified and even necessary indication of the actual untenable situation in the life of the Kosovars, which the lawful institutions did not work to improve anywhere near as much as the seriousness of the situation demanded.

In practice, it is definitely not easy to say how far the legitimate expression of dissatisfaction of those who have lost confidence in the organs of authority which do not guarantee them freedom and dignity goes and where harmful and destructive political action begins which—even though it is diametrically opposed to the action that caused it—objectively leads to historical regression. This thin demarcation line is especially easy to cross when passions boil, when the participants become mixed up, and when in the same assault there are both justifiably furious people and those to whom their fury may be a welcome instrument for realizing other aims.

An objective observer of the past meetings and other mass demonstrations directed by the Kosovo Committee could in fact notice this mixture of participants, regardless of how much the protest columns seem at first to be acting in a homogeneous way and regardless of who made up the majority in them. It is not likely that the mothers of girls who have been raped and the old men who have been assaulted on buses along Kosovo roads have suddenly become so interested in the constituency of some politicians of long standing. It is even less likely that the gift for epic poetry has suddenly been awakened in them and has overflowed into some new slogans in verse. They are surely not the creators of a new image as a symbol of the grotesquely exaggerated traditional caps and bushy beards.

All these are elements in reasoning out what these mass single-nationality, that is single-people political gatherings mean and where they are leading. Once this has been said, it does not in any way mean that it has been forgotten—on the contrary—that in the conduct of Albanian separatists in Kosovo an attempt has been made at counterrevolution which leaves behind chaos in which Serbs and Montenegrins even today are the worst off. The reservations which must be stated during action organized by the Serbo-Montenegrin Committee for Kosovo, are not and should not be a denial or closing of eyes to the real drama that this population is living through. The political social-existential scenario in Kosovo is really dramatic and there is room for anxiety about its final outcome. However, it does not seem convincing that the platform of an exclusively national homogenization and the condemnation of all those who "are not with us," could lead to a final historical happy-end to this drama.

However, such a vehement wave of extra-institutional political activity, caused by the Kosovo storm that has lasted many years, is also definitely—which is perhaps even more important than the character of the gatherings—a serious test of the capacity of the "political system of socialist self-management." A little torn between its own ideological view of itself which was until recently publicly undisputed, as "the most democratic system in the world" and the increasingly frequent and reasoned criticism that it is not sufficiently subjected to democratic influence and the check of the public—as well as, of course, the global sin of the entire social crisis—the system does not have a consistent answer to what has happened to it with the public appearance of new political subjects. Should the self-organization of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins be seen as something that in fact corresponds to the system that assumes the self-managing initiative of working people and citizens: Is that a democratic criticism of the system, or an opposition which should be feared, or an enemy of the system....? One could not get a clear answer to this question from the actions of the organs of authority, the LC, and other legal political organizations.

The Committee came about at one of the Summer's gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje. Up until the recent announcement of a mass gathering in Titograd, not one provincial organ had expressed an opinion on the legitimacy of this body, although there had been contact between "the officials" and "the alternatives." As we have seen, officials (mainly SAWP representatives) from the places which the Committee chose for their meetings, also contacted the Committee partly under duress and partly voluntarily. The public knows enough about the attitude to the meetings themselves: It began with the officials in Novi Sad completely ignoring everything and even went as far as a meeting organized jointly with the sociopolitical organizations of Titograd. In its short term of office, the Committee has also had contact with members of the Serbian LC Central Committee working group and even realized the stance of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium that they should not protest in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee.

On the eve of the Titograd meeting, the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium issued a quite clear statement in which they made it known that it did not agree with what the Committee was doing. In the same tones from "the good old days" when directives were issued (and respected), the Pristina party committee decisively ordered its membership not to participate in single-nationality meetings, but this announcement from the Pristina sociopolitical organizations did not effect the success of the Titograd meeting. It is true that some of the senior federal officials who the participants wanted to hear, had left Titograd before the beginning of the big meeting....

It is quite certain that new meetings of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins will follow. With quite a lot of imagination, the Committee has been suggesting different forms of political gathering of people throughout Yugoslavia: Some are for Vojvodina settlements

with quite a few settlers from the South, others are for the Slovenes who are not so warm toward the South .... For the time being, the wave of politicization which was caused by the Kosovo storm can only spread.

The forces who continue to pretend that they are leading society would be too gallant if they were to be indecisive (and disagreeing) observers of what is happening. What is carried on the crest of the wave of the Serbian-Montenegrin resolution that the situation in Kosovo should be settled in a justified and acceptable way, must become the orientation of everyone, both in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. Some words have already been wasted, but on this occasion it is difficult not to mention the so-called front of all socialist forces—regardless of the fact that it has in fact been seriously repudiated by the development of events—as only this front can still be the proponent of authentic political action to solve the Kosovo circumstances.

As its vanguard section, the LCY has also given itself the aim: Either it (the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as early as next week, and the LCY Central Committee in September) will have the powers to say what is what and that everything that happened in the Summer should be assessed thoroughly, responsibly, and politically, or what usually happens in such cases will happen, the authority of the LCY leadership which has in any case thinned out, will be lost in the dust of single-nationality or other marches.

BORBA on Kosovo Serbs, Montenegrins Body

AU0109141288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Aug 88 p 5

[Milos Antic report: "Official Silence, Street Corner Assessments"]

[Text] In addition to all legal organs and structures of this society which work with varying success, the Organizational Committee for the Preparation of Kosovo People's Attendance at Protest Meetings and Rallies Outside the Province was active in the turbulent political arena of Kosovo during July and particularly during August this year.

This Committee, which was set up at a meeting of the first [SAWP] branch of the 16th Kosovo Polje local community on 24 June, on the very day when the first conference of the LC of Kosovo was held, was to organize and lead the Kosovo-Metohija Serbs and Montenegrins to the protest meeting in Novi Sad and to the Kosovo people's gathering in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Nobody among the observers and those who voted for the committee, except probably its initiators Miroslav Solevic and Miodrag Samardzic, could imagine that the committee would grow into a peculiar political organ that acts as an alternative to certain legal organs and bodies not only in Kosovo Polje where its center is, but also beyond, in Kosovo in general.

Alternative Political Organ [subhead]

During the 2 short months that the committee has been in existence and acting, it in many ways has exceeded its name and the tasks assigned to it for the first time at a legal SAWP meeting. Up to now it has organized the attendance of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins at protest meetings outside the province on several occasions, and on some occasions it assumed the right to appoint a delegation to represent the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins at these meetings. It has also happened that the committee once dissociated itself from those Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins that did not obey it bu. went to a place where the committee considered that the masses should not go.

One of the biggest steps of this committee was the preparation of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, and others besides, to march in Belgrade for the 16th LCY Central Committee session. Considering the grave situation and the threats to the Serbs and Montenegrins, this job was easily and quickly accomplished in Kosovo. A large number of Kosovo people, perhaps more than 20,000, prepared for the journey. The committee considered that this would not be sufficient, and it urged—by personal visits, letters, and telegrams, as well as telephone calls—workers of many collectives in the SR of Serbia to march in Belgrade. A meeting of at least 50,000 people was expected. Mico Sparavalo, president of the committee, has told BORBA about it in detail.

And then it happened that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia requested everybody to refrain from the march in Belgrade. The Organizational Committee in Kosovo Polje reacted quickly, which is to say the same night. It asked the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as those from the SR of Serbia, not to go to Belgrade, "because after the announcement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, there was no need to."

That evening, on 27 July, when the members of the committee adopted the decision, something happened that will probably be called by its proper name only in subsequent detailed political and other analyses. Until then, and afterwards, no political organ in Kosovo Polje, in the Pristina commune, in Kosovo, and beyond, has acknowledged or disputed the legitimacy of the committee, at least not publicly and officially. Some opinions could be heard only in unofficial circles; some people said that "it is an informal and therefore completely illegal body to which one should not attach much importance because it will fall apart soon," while others warned that "the committee is growing into something unplanned, a mini-leadership of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, which enjoys certain support."

Official Recognition of the Committee [subhead]

Since immediately before the 16th LCY Central Committee session it was more than obvious that the committee is pulling the strings in a very skillful and self-determined way, top people of the Kosovo Polje district, Pristina Communal LC Committee, and Working Group of the Serbian LC Central Committee sat together with the committee members on 27 July. A section of the public interpreted that as public recognition of the committee.

Already at its first meeting held in Kosovo Polje after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, the legitimacy of the committee was extended and it was given the task of taking over the organization of any visits Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins make outside the province. This support which was extended to it at every meeting was always unanimous, except on two occasions when Slavko Cumic, one of the Kosovo Polje people who has probably attended the largest number of rallies and meetings, was discontented with the committee's work, that is, its "puritanical behavior," "vacillation," and "calling off several mass marches," and demanded that this committee should be dissolved and another one elected, because "we do have more capable and courageous people," who "will not come under any influence." He was, of course, booed and both times remained completely alone.

In the meantime, the committee "did its job": It contacted members of sociopolitical set-up in those towns outside Kosovo in which protest rallies and meetings were to be organized, discussed the time of the meetings, who from Kosovo will attend them, who will speak, and the like. It sent letters and telegrams to certain leaderships and bodies. In a word, when visits of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins are concerned, the committee pulled all the strings.

The committee, let us recall, recently had its first public action in the field. After 22 Serbian households in Prekale, near Istok, announced collective emigration and officials of the Istok commune could not do anything, members of the committee went to the village in the evening of 16 August, gathered the villagers, talked to them and persuaded them that they should give up their collective emigration for the time being, "until one sees what the situation is."

Activity in the Field [subhead]

This move, as well as their public meeting in the Ribnjak Motel in Istok at which they announced their answer to the Titograd political organizations about the organization of the big national rally in the Montenegrin capital on 20 August, has posed the following question: What and whom does this committee really represent?

All official sources keep silent about this in public. However, a lot can be heard "in the background." For some people, the committee is "the leadership of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo." For the others it is "an informal group which imposes itself and in doing so does not shrink from any means." For the third group, "the Committee is only what the people have determined it to be." Let us not list everything that is being said on street corners and unofficially by people who should speak out officially. We shall only say one more thing and that is that a large number of people in Kosovo, above all Albanian nationals, "consider the committee to be a group of nationalists, careerists, and petty politickers who want to grab power at all costs."

Time, and maybe Kosovo events themselves, will show what this is really all about. BORBA informs the public about the platform that the committee advocates at present and which was presented by committee president Mico Sparavalo at the recent veterans' meeting in Urosevac. This platform was supplemented by several thoughts expressed by committee members.

One should also say that the committee consists of six members: Mico Sparavalo from Urosevac, president; Stevan Marinkovic from Kosovo Polje, vice president; and members Miroslav Solevic and Migo Samardzic from Kosovo Polje, Milic Maslovaric from Istok, and Momcilo Pumpalovic from Klina.

What could be seen so far is that the committee does not work on its own initiative but in cooperation with many SAWP and LC activists in local communities, particularly the ones with Serb and Montenegrin population. As can be seen, all those so-called leaders who were hauled on the carpet this spring because of their ideopolitical responsibility for nationalism and destructive activity did not join the committee. After a resolute action by Kosovo Polje communists they were freed from party responsibility. They are now actively cooperating with the committee and participate in all its activities.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Mico Sparavalo—What the Committee's Platform Consists of: Treacherous Conduct of the Leadership [subhead]

Mico Sparavalo, president of the committee, spoke at the meeting of the two Veterans' branches in Urosevac at the beginning of this week. Speaking in the village of Prekale the day after, he and Miroslav Solevic said and underlined that "what Sparavalo presented in Urosevac is the committee's platform on which the committee will stand in the coming period and at all the meetings its delegations will attend."

Here is the essence of Mico Sparavalo's speech, which is to say, the committee's platform:

"Just as the ones preceeding it, the latest, 16th session of the LCY Central Committee does not guarantee that anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav forces in Kosovo will be

defeated and peace, order, equality, and legality will be established in Kosovo. Unfortunately, the unpleasant truth that there is no unity in the Yugoslav leadership is being confirmed every day. The leadership expresses its inability and lack of readiness to resolutely start solving problems which would show our society the way out of political and economic crisis. Disunity and lack of readiness on the part of the state and the LCY to undertake proper, efficient, and radical measures in curbing the counterrevolution carried out by Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo are particularly obvious. The same assessment and same stances have been repeated for 7 and ½ years, the same measures have been discussed, and the situation in Kosovo has been getting worse all the time. It is not only that ideopolitical differentiation has not been carried out and the Kosovo LC not been made more capable, but, unfortunately for all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, it is national differentiation which has been getting deeper and deeper and leading closer and closer to national confrontation. This is why it is so unconvincing, funny, but also sad when some Yugoslav leaders in their speeches describe the situation in Kosovo in a very good way, when in words they most harshly denounce the counterrevolutionary, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav activity of Albanian separatists and chauvinists, but immediately afterwards say that we should strive very resolutely on a self-managing and democratic basis and with direct expert help with a view to overcoming such an unbearable situation in Kosovo. They also say that any other undemocratic and anti-self-managing activity against counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo is unacceptable. What an irony and utopia that is....

"As far as I know, no counterrevolution in the world has ever been defeated and crushed with appeals, conclusions, and speeches, but with means appropriate to a struggle against an enemy who threatens the constitutional set-up, freedom, peace, and equality of the peoples living in that country. What is involved here is an enemy who has infiltrated the organs of our party and state and who will use all possible means with a view to destroying the freedom for which our blood was shed....

"The question is asked why these leaders of ours with their utopian, nonrevolutionary, opportunist, and ultimately anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav hostile activity maintain this situation which is neither war nor peace, a situation, that is, which is fatal not only to us in Kosovo—the endangered Serbs and Montenegrins—but to Albanians themselves, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY. Do they not feel and see that their opportunist and ultimately treacherous behavior makes us to take up the cudgels and resume our struggle to defend the freedom for which our blood was shed and which we are now losing in 'freedom'? Do they not see that, be it consciously or unconsciously, they are leading this country of ours into disaster, and that is the betrayal of the achievements of socialist revolution, betrayal of the ideals of Yugoslav brotherhood and unity and patriotism.

"I am deeply convinced that the LC of Kosovo is neither capable of coming to grips with counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo nor united or ready for such a thing. It has fallen apart and the LC organization does not exist as an ideological force. State and public security organs, organized as they are now and with the cadres they have now, are neither ready nor able to perform tasks that society has set to them and expects them to perform. This also applies to the legislative organs in Kosovo...."

Commentary on Kosovo Polje 'Council'
AU0709164888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Sep 88 p 7

[Blerim Reka commentary: "Together—No Alternative"]

[Text] A month after the 16th LCY Central Committee plenum, which is well-known to have been a powerful stimulus for tangible action and mobilization on the part of the LC in Kosovo, Serbia, and throughout the country toward stabilizing the situation in the province and a call for a radical and positive turning-point in the development of the political situation in our province, the LCY Central Committee Presidium once again made the implementation, (non)observance, and (non)realization of this plenum's conclusions a topical issue. At the same time, attention was drawn to the further deterioration of the political and security situation and the need for a realistic assessment of the situation in Kosovo. The present political and security situation in the country and the province is showing signs of further worsening because of to the activity of Albanian nationalism, the continuing emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the further cooling of intranational relations, the deterioration of social problems, the organization of single-nationality gatherings, the activity of Serbian nationalism, and so forth.

The fact is that certain tendencies and currents of thought hitherto unknown in Yugoslav political life, such as flagrant disregard for the conclusions of the highest party and state bodies, are hampering and encumbering the determined action of progressive forces headed by the LC in stabilizing the Kosovo situation. These tendencies have transformed themselves into open opposition to prescribed LCY policy, disregard for democratic centralism—that primary principle in party relations—and have gone as far as unprecedented attacks on the fruits of our revolution and the personality of Comrade Tito.

Under such circumstances, we have witnessed this summer a process of ever greater politicization; it is not by chance that this has taken place in the wake of meetings of the highest party bodies, the LCY Conference, and the 16th LCY plenum on Kosovo. Nor was there any lack of such winds and currents before these high - level party meetings. Even though the most recent LCY plenum

rightly drew attention to the danger of further single-nationality protest gatherings, rallies, and other demonstrations outside the framework of our social organizations, and although the same appeal was issued by the SFRY Presidency, such gatherings have not only not been stopped but, as is shown by that announced to take place in Smederevo today, have become more frequent, in disregard of party standpoints. In all this mosaic of social disorder, one of the initiators of a political platform active outside the LCY is the so-called "Council for the Organization of Serbian and Montenegrin Protest Gatherings" from Kosovo Polje, which has recently been increasingly setting itself up as a parallel authority to the legal organs of Kosovo, and not to them alone. With their main leitmotiv, that they are organizing the gatherings "to tell the truth about Kosovo directly to the people of Yugoslavia," this self-appointed council goes even further, broadcasting its "own political program" for solving the problems of Kosovo and even of the country as a whole.

However, the way in which this truth is told in gatherings in different parts of the country has often stepped outside the framework of the system, giving scope for antisocialist, anti-self-management, and nationalist forces to gain access to the now electric political atmosphere.

In this way, alongside citizens' genuine problems and reasonable grievances, for whose solution full solidarity has been given, the most various and unacceptable slogans are present, down to the most extreme, such as "We Want Weapons!," "Down With the Provinces!," "Down With the 1974 Constitution!," and so forth. Distinguished leaders at all levels, from the communes, the provinces, and the federation, are insulted and abused without evidence. Such bellicose and fratricidal demands cause anxiety and uncertainty—What is happening? What will happen tomorrow?

In this way, the impression is created that no political body or forum in Kosovo, Serbia, or the country as a whole ever assessed the political situation, that no clear political stands on the Kosovo situation ever existed, that there was no determined action to improve the situation, and that all the legal structures of the state in Kosovo did nothing until this self-appointed council from Kosovo Polje turned up! Is there really anything that is now not known about Kosovo, even though the portrayal of the province's political mosaic has often in recent years been subject to non-objective, tendentious, and manipulative reporting? Why ignore the fact that an all-Yugoslav consensus was reached, according to which Kosovo is a problem of the entire country, and that stabilizing the political situation, combatting Albanian and other forms of nationalism, preventing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and guaranteeing the safety of their persons and property, are important tasks involving us all? What else do the members of this organizing council want to say at their protest gatherings, or what else can they say, and why is there all this manipulation of the idea that they speak "in the name of the people?" It seems to have been forgotten that the notion of the people is a more complex one, cannot be reduced to the members of one or two national groups, and that key political issues in the country demand consultation and the collective opinion of all the peoples and nationalities. Such a highly important political fact is being ignored on purpose, and there are plays on words, as if a desire were present to achieve a political aim—creating a specific atmosphere before and during the public debate on the constitutional changes.

It must be accepted that this no longer is, and cannot be called, a "spontaneous expression of the people's discontent," but that it is an exceptionally dangerous political game that merely manipulates the people's real problems and dissatisfaction for the specific and well-known purposes of certain individuals.

It is clear that no legal political or state mechanism in Kosovo stands behind this council, for the Kosovo SAWP Presidium has several times before now not merely dissociated itself from its activities, but has stated the fact that it has no connection of any kind with the self-appointed council.

In realizing the plenum conclusions on Kosovo, many tasks and much intensive labor remain before organized socialist forces in Kosovo with the LC at their head; similarly, we must continue to concretely and comprehensively carry out the immediate tasks stemming from the all-Yugoslav program for Kosovo. Every delay in solving problems, every feeling of insecurity or violation of the freedom and rights of citizens in general, and especially Serbs and Montenegrins, gives rise to discontent. Thus, the causes and sources of this discontent, which the organizational council is using for its own ends, must be eliminated.

Everyone must be clear in their minds that Yugoslavia is a state under the rule of law, with institutional and legal authority constituted and organized on the basis of the Constitution and the law. It is a state in which the legal order and the normal functioning of the system's institutions and of political life must be respected. Otherwise, tolerating such free activity on the streets and the operation of a parallel source of power and a political counterpart to the LCY that preaches "democracy," and yet rejects a priori any different opinion put forward by anyone else as undemocratic, could lead to real social anarchy.

Closing or averting our eyes to such a real political fact, under such tense political circumstances, could have unforeseen consequences for the future destiny of our multinational community; this was also the conclusion of the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We have no alternative to joint commitment to eliminate every source of dissatisfaction and every threat to the safety of persons and property, and to solve all the genuine problems in every locality of Kosovo within the framework of the system's institutions.